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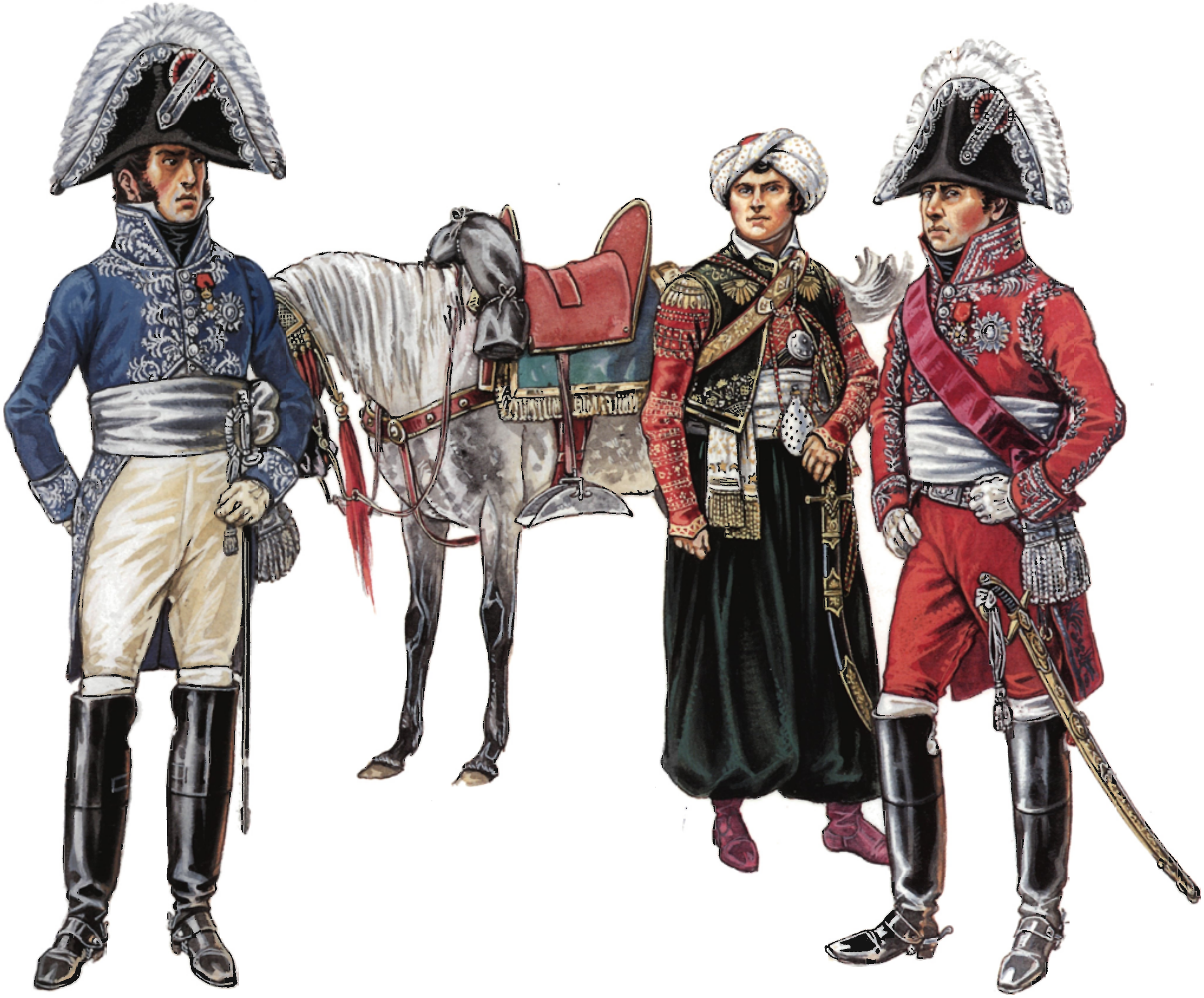
Napoleon's Imperial Headquarters (1)

Organization & Personnel



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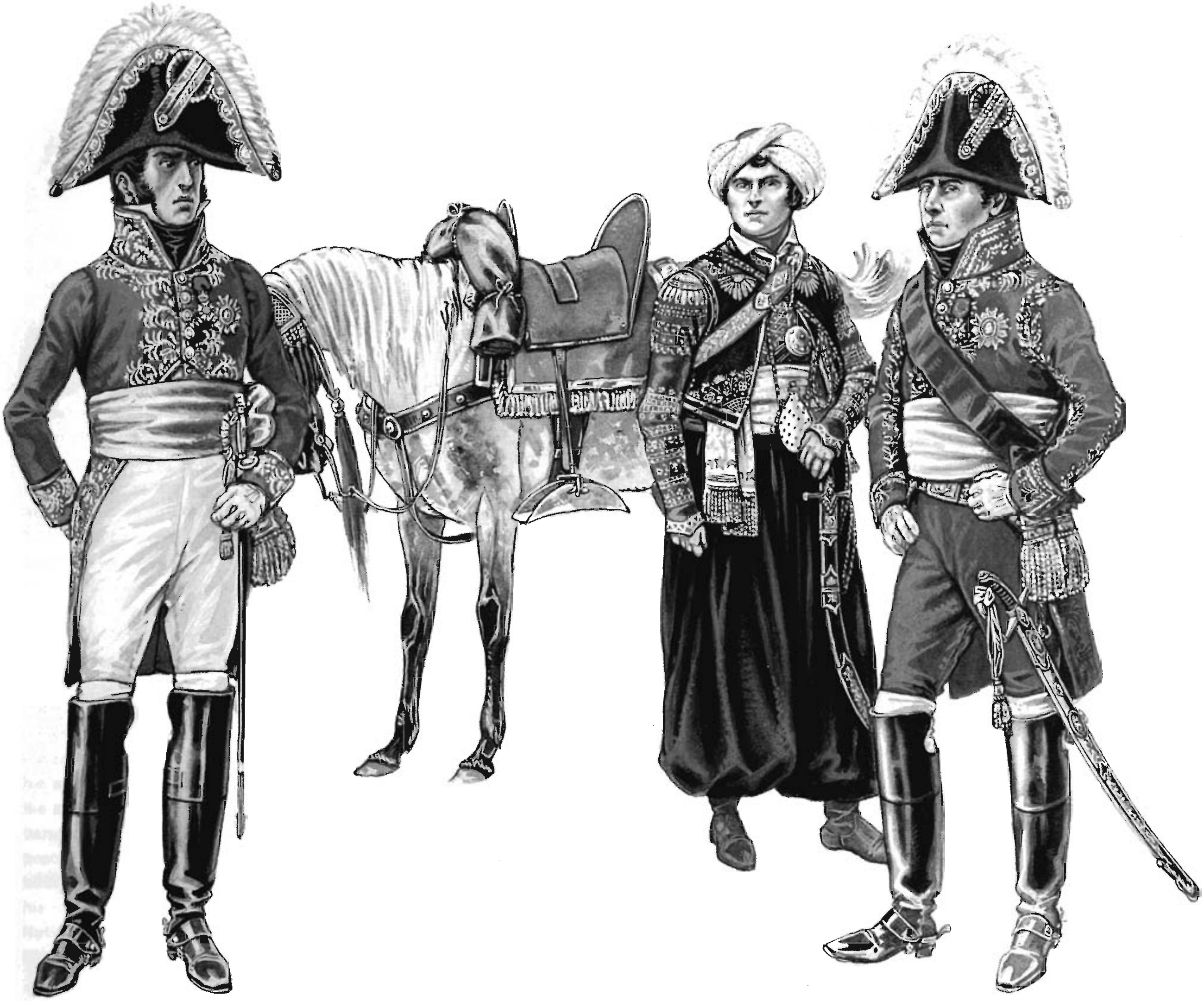

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Author's Note

This first of a two-part study details the organization and personnel of the Imperial Headquarters; the second book will focus on the service and the experiences of the members of these departments when on campaign, drawing largely upon their surviving journals, memoirs and letters.

Artist's Note

Readers may care to note that the original paintings from which the colour plates in this book were prepared are available for private sale. All reproduction copyright whatsoever is retained by the Publishers. All enquiries should be addressed to:

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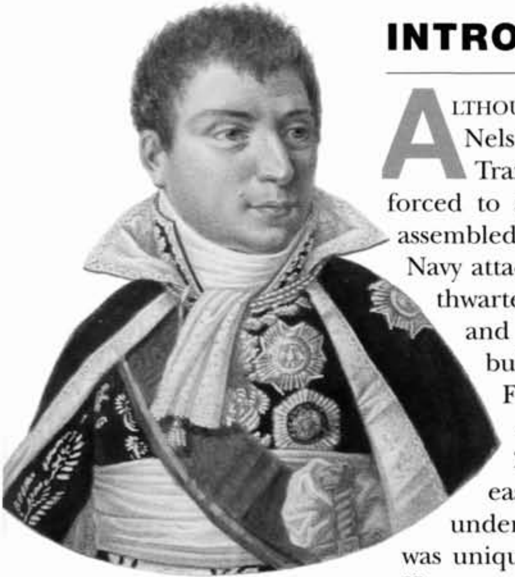
NAPOLEON'S IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS (1) ORGANIZATION & PERSONNEL



Louis Alexandre Berthier's official title was 'the Major-General', but his duties approximated to what we would call today a Chief of the General Staff. Probably the most capable staff officer in the world at the time of Napoleon's greatness, Berthier was described as a noble character who earned the devotion of his subordinates, and his calm competence was sorely missed during the 1815 Waterloo campaign. This portrait depicts him in full court uniform, which is far from the image recorded affectionately by his staff – who recalled that his everyday uniform hung carelessly, and that in his preoccupation he was always biting his fingernails or picking his nose. (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)

INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE another two months before Admiral Lord Nelson's decisive destruction of the Franco-Spanish fleet off Cape Trafalgar, by late August 1805 the Emperor Napoleon had been forced to abandon the idea of invading Britain, for which he had assembled his Grande Armée around Boulogne. While Britain's Royal Navy attacked the barges assembling in the mouth of the Rhine and thwarted French squadrons in the Mediterranean, the West Indies and the East Indies, British diplomacy and gold had been building the 'Third Coalition' of Continental powers against France – Austria, Russia, Sweden and Naples. By the time Austria invaded the territory of Napoleon's ally Bavaria on 2 September, French troops were already on the march to the east. Immediate action was necessary, and the Emperor had under his hand a war machine consisting of some 200,000 men. It was unique in its composition, in that more than 50 per cent of its officers and soldiers were veterans of earlier campaigns; even its armament and training were superior to those of its adversaries. Napoleon would never command a more battle-proven army.

Organized into several Army Corps, the Grande Armée would march eastwards in three major columns; everything was planned in detail – itineraries, bivouacs, provisions and transport. This campaign of 1805 would be Napoleon's 'Blitzkrieg'. In 24 days his army would be across the Rhine; eight days later, on 6 October, it would reach the Danube; on 17 October an Austrian army, brilliantly outmanoeuvred, surrendered to Napoleon at Ulm; and on 14 November he occupied Vienna. Racing on northwards, on 2 December he crushed the combined Austro-Russian armies in his most famous victory, at Austerlitz.

Moving a force of that size from the English Channel and North Sea coasts deep into central Europe in just three months demanded sophisticated planning on a huge scale. The Emperor could undertake this audacious campaign because he could rely upon the experience of his Imperial Headquarters, a well-oiled machine for waging mobile warfare. Days before leaving to join the army, Napoleon had already had the general staff of the Grande Armée set off to prepare his headquarters, to gather information on roads and to guide the columns of troops on their respective routes of march. When the Austrians were re-arming and concentrating their forces on the Tyrol border, the Emperor had an *adjutant-commandant* named Romieu sent to follow them up. This, and many other secret missions, would provide the Emperor with the necessary information on his adversaries, so that

when he arrived at his headquarters he only needed to take the lead and push his army forward to success.

On the evening of Monday 23 September 1805, a small number of coaches left the palace; this first of three echelons of the Emperor's 'Household' to leave for the army included an ADC to the Emperor, an equerry, a chamberlain, a prefect of the palace and several servants. Their task was to prepare the relays where the Emperor would stay during his journey east. The chamberlain would make all necessary preparations such as drawing up lists for audiences to be granted to local authorities, and the prefect of the palace would locate suitable accommodation.

The following morning at 4am, eight more Imperial Court coaches left Paris. These carried the Emperor Napoleon; the Grand Marshal of

OPPOSITE **Uniform and sabretache worn by the Prince de Salm-Kyrbourg (1789–1859) as an orderly officer to Napoleon, showing lavish bullion embroidery on the hussar-style pelisse, dolman and sabretache. This uniform was said to have been worn during the Emperor's coronation in 1804, but cannot have been, since Salm-Kyrbourg only served as an orderly officer in 1807–09. Nevertheless, it clearly predates the regulation plain green and lavishly silver-embroidered sky blue uniforms for orderly officers. Part of a French private collection, the uniform is now in the Army Museum in Paris. The hat is probably a later associated item. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)**

the Palace, Gen Duroc; the Grand Equerry, Gen de Caulaincourt; the Empress' equerry, d'Harville; Marshal Bessières as commander of the Cavalry of the Imperial Guard; Chamberlain Hédouville; Napoleon's ADC Caffarelli; Prefect of the Palace Saint-Didier; two more equerries; and Napoleon's secretary Méneval with the archivist Fain. The next day, a third and last detachment left the palace, with the two chamberlains Tournon and Beaumont, whose services would only be required when the Emperor stayed at the same place for more than two days. This was the core of the Emperor's Military and Civil Household – his court in the field.

Arriving at the army's Imperial Headquarters, he met Marshal Berthier, *général major* of the Grande Armée (the Major-Generalcy was an appointment, not a rank), his trusted chief of the general staff. Berthier had gathered around him a staff of trustworthy officers, mainly young and eager to serve, consisting of his personal ADCs such as Col Arrighi, Col Bruyères, Capt Girardin and Sub-Lt de Périgord. Berthier's First Assistant Major-General, heading the army general staff, was General of Brigade Pannetier (shortly afterwards to be replaced by Gen A.F.Andréossy), and the commander of the headquarters itself was Adjutant-Commandant Lecamus. Other officers of the staff were Colonel of Engineers Vallongue, who was responsible for the administration of the general staff; Adj-Cdts Chevalier, Dalton and Lomet; Cols Curto and d'Herval; Maj Cabannes; *Chefs de bataillon* Parigot, Pillet, Lejeune and Blein; *Chef d'escadron* Mergès; Capts Levaillant and Lejeune; Lts Lagrange, Brunet, Picton, Flahaut and Ligniville. Some of these officers would later become famous names in the history of the Napoleonic wars.

With this staff, together with the members and staffs of his households, Napoleon could rely upon on an organization that provided him with all the necessary information, technical support and comfort to allow him to function as effortlessly as he could have done in one of his palaces.

This combined instrument of command – Household and Army General Headquarters, forming the Imperial Headquarters – was the machine by which the Emperor was able to exercise control over his ever-growing armies, and to conquer most of Europe.

Imperial Headquarters

Emperor's Military Household
Aides-de-camp (ADCs)
Orderly officers (until 1809)

Emperor's Cabinet
Secretariat
Intelligence office
Topographical office

Emperor's Civil Household
Grand Marshal of the Palace (Gens Duroc, Bertrand)
Grand Equerry (Gen de Caulaincourt)
Orderly officers (from 1809)

Army General Headquarters
Major-General's Cabinet (Marshal Berthier)
Troop movements
Secretariat
Accountancy
Intelligence office

Major-General's Private Military Staff
Generals
ADCs

Army General Staff
1st Assistant Major-General
2nd Asst Maj-Gen
3rd Asst Maj-Gen

The structure of the Imperial Headquarters can be divided into two major sections, each independent of the other: the *maison militaire de l'empereur* or the Emperor's Military Household, and the *grand quartier-général* or Army General Headquarters. A third department dependent on the Imperial Headquarters was the office of the Intendant General, providing the administrative staff of the army.

IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS (*GRAND QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL IMPÉRIAL*)

THE MILITARY HOUSEHOLD

This *maison militaire* was Napoleon's personal military staff, consisting of his ADCs and orderly officers.

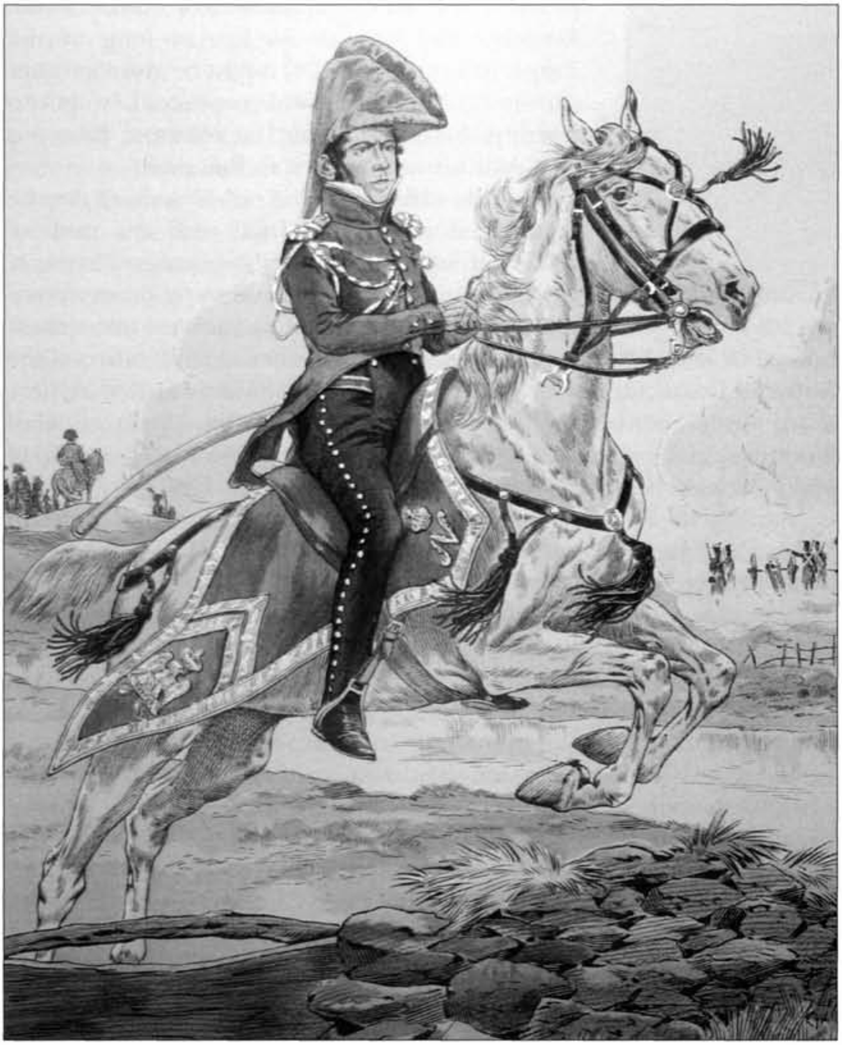
The **ADCs to the Emperor** were mainly loyal, experienced generals or, at times, other senior officers whom he knew from his Italian or Egyptian campaigns. All were famous for their bravery and experts in their own branches of service. Working directly under the supervision of the Emperor, with whose habits of thought and ways of acting they were thoroughly familiar, these officers were sometimes assigned to temporary command of units or formations, or entrusted with diplomatic missions. Most of the time, however, their tasks consisted of making detailed inspection tours and long-distance reconnaissances. When they had to carry orders from the Emperor to an army commander, these would be verbal rather than written. The appointment of ADC to the Emperor was so influential that they were considered to be 'Napoleon's eyes and ears', and even marshals were wise to follow their advice and render them the respect due to their function.

On 29 April 1809 a decree organized their service. Every morning at 7am the duty ADC and his staff were relieved, and the new ADC for the next 24 hours had to present the Emperor with a list of names of the staff under his command. This would consist of two supplementary daytime general ADCs and one night ADC (himself included), one equerry, half the number of orderly officers, half the number of the *petits aides de camp* (see below), and half the number of pages.

Their numbers differed from time to time, but only 37 officers were ever commissioned ADC to the Emperor, and at normal times their number was restricted to 12. They were:

Eugène de Beauharnais, stepson of the Emperor and sometime Viceroy of Italy
Simon Bernard, present at Waterloo (who in 1816 would enter United States service as an engineer)
Henri-Gatien Bertrand, future Grand Marshal of the Palace after Duroc's death in 1813, who also served at Waterloo
Louis Bonaparte, younger brother of the Emperor, future King of Holland (and father of Napoleon III)
Col Davis Belly de Bussy
M.F.A.Caffarelli du Falga, future Minister of War of Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy
J.B.J.Count Corbineau
A.A.L.de Caulaincourt, Grand Equerry and sometime ambassador to Russia
Pierre Dejean
Antoine Drouot, who commanded the artillery barrage at Hanau in 1813, and served at Waterloo
Gérard Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace
Count Antoine Durosnel
Count Charles Flahaut de Billarderie, who served at Waterloo
Count Claude Mathieu Gardane

Baron Charles Guéhéneuc
Baron François Haxo, who commanded the engineers at Waterloo
Count Thierry Hogendorp, a Dutch-born general (who would die in exile in Brazil)
Andoche Junot, lieutenant-colonel of Hussars
Count André Lacoste
Gérard Lacuée
Count Jacques Lauriston, sometime ambassador to Russia
Count Antoine Lavalette, Director General of the Post
Count Anne-Charles Lebrun
Count Charles Levebvre-Desnouettes, present at Waterloo
Count Jean Le Marois
Count Louis Letort, who was killed as ADC at the battle of Fleurus in 1815
Duke Auguste Marmont, future marshal
General Antoine Merlin
Count Charles Morand
Ambroise-Anatole de Montesquiou



Orderly officer in campaign dress, 1813, by Job after Sauerweid. In the field the lavishly embroidered uniform was replaced by a plainer one but still in the sky-blue and silver of full dress. The hat is protected by an oiled cover; the many-buttoned overalls are dark blue. The shabraque, in sky-blue with silver decoration, is of a kind shown in more than one contemporary source; the V-stripes in the corner indicate the rank – here, two for a *chef d'escadron*. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

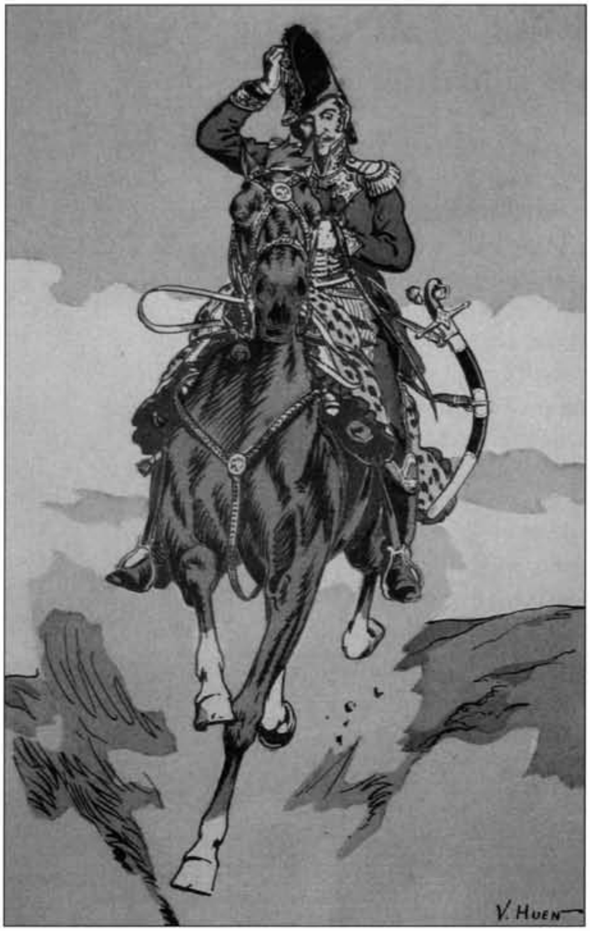
Georges Mouton Count de Lobau, who led the assault across the Landshut bridge in 1809
Joachim Murat (in 1796)
Count Louis Narbonne-Lara, who died as governor of besieged Wittemberg in 1813 (and who reintroduced the Old Regime custom of handing despatches to the Emperor on his folded hat)
Count Jean Rapp, who led the Imperial Guard cavalry charge at Austerlitz
Count Honoré Reille, who served at Waterloo
Anne Savary, Duke of Rovigo, future Minister of Police; and
Count Philippe de Ségur

Each of these officers wore the normal general's uniform of his rank, but with gold aiguillettes as the symbol of his function. Each had his own two or three personal ADCs – *'petits aides de camp'* – who might also be commanded directly by the Emperor. The appointment of ADC to the Emperor did not always last as long as the Emperor's reign; an ADC might be given another position such as a field command, a governorship, etc., and would be removed from his ADC status until recalled to that post.

Orderly officers (*officiers d'ordonnance*) may be considered as junior ADCs, with the rank of squadron leader, captain or lieutenant. They, too, were used for special missions such as reconnaissance and inspections, but also to carry written orders. In 1806, when these posts were created, they were members of the Imperial Guard; in 1809, while retaining their military status, they were taken under control of the Grand Equerry in the Emperor's Civil Household. The decrees regulating their service were signed on 15, 19 and 24 September 1806, and finally on 19 September 1809.

Starting in 1806 with a plain dark green single-breasted uniform lacking any embroidery but with gold aiguillettes, their appearance would change drastically over time, and they became some of the most elegant figures at Headquarters. The original dark green confused other staff members, who took them for members of Napoleon's domestic staff. Serving under the control of Grand Equerry de Caulaincourt, they wore from 1809 *'blue barbeau'*, a shade hard to identify; but this soon changed to a sky-blue uniform lavishly embroidered with silver; indeed, their uniforms, shabraques and equipment were so expensive that early in 1812 the Emperor allowed them a payment of 20,000 francs each.

From their creation the orderly officers always numbered 12; they were selected from all arms (infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineers), and upon appointment they received additional instruction on the other arms. This commission attracted mainly elegant young blades, including sprigs of old noble families such as Turenne; Montesquiou-Fézensac; Frédéric IV of Salm-Kyrbourg; Honoré V de



Mounted orderly officer in full dress, by Huen. These elegant officers wore a splendid sky-blue full dress uniform with a scarlet waistcoat, all embroidered with silver lace, and their shabraque was of imitation panther-skin edged scarlet. This officer carries an oriental 'mameluke'-style sabre, which became fashionable originally among veterans of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign. (Author's collection)

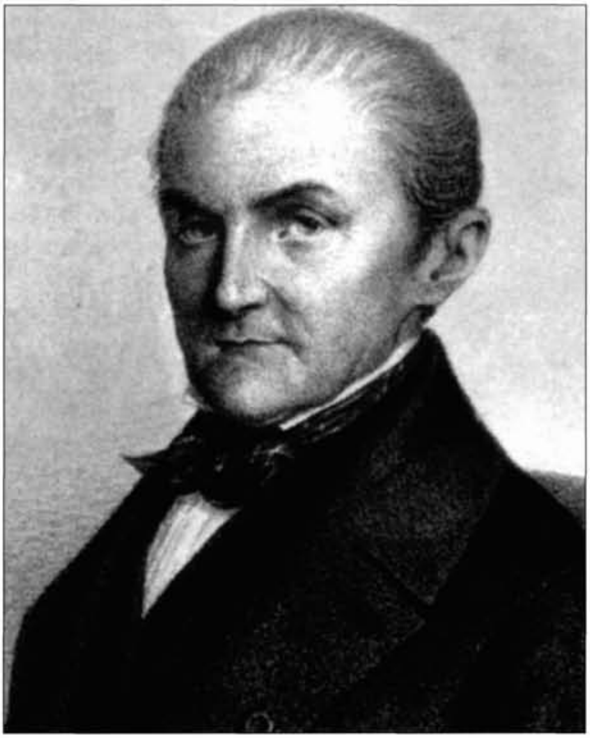
Grimaldi, Prince of Monaco; Prince M.J. de Savoie-Carignan; de Watteville, d'Arenberg, and others.

On 27 March 1813, the Emperor decreed that Chef d'escadron Gourgaud was commissioned *premier officier d'ordonnance* (First Orderly Officer) for his services as orderly officer during the Russian campaign. His task was to direct the service of the other orderly officers, sign their instructions and brief them on their duties. Promoted colonel during the 1814 campaign in France, Gourgaud served the Emperor as a general at Waterloo, and followed him into exile on St Helena.

THE EMPEROR'S CABINET

Secretariat

For his administration the Emperor could call on his private 'Cabinet' or office staff, which consisted of three different offices: the *secrétariat*, the *bureau de renseignements*, and the *bureau topographique*.



Baron Claude F.Méneval (1778–1850). This former secretary to the future Emperor's brother Joseph Bonaparte entered Napoleon's service on 3 April 1802. From the following year he became responsible for all the Emperor's correspondence; he followed his master on all his campaigns until December 1812, when he was forced to leave the Cabinet by ill-health and exhaustion. Baron Méneval was replaced as the Emperor's secretary by Baron Agathon J-F.Fain (1778–1836). (Author's collection)

At first Gen Bonaparte used his ADCs as his personal secretaries. Later this task was taken over by a civilian and friend of his youth whom he had met at military school, Louis-Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne (1769–1834). As *secrétaire intime* to the First Consul, Bourrienne became rather full of his own importance, not only playing a prominent role in Parisian society but also becoming involved in dubious financial transactions. This forced Bonaparte to dismiss him; he was replaced on 3 April 1802 by Napoleon's elder brother's former secretary, Baron Claude F.Méneval (1778–1850). From now on the appointment would carry the title of *secrétaire du portefeuille* ('portfolio secretary'); and by decree of 3 February 1806 Méneval became responsible for presenting to the Emperor for signature, and for despatching, all the correspondence that Napoleon dictated.

Further secretaries would later be employed. In February 1809, Claude Philibert Édouard Mounier (1784–1843) was offered the post of Secretary of the Cabinet. Knowing practically every European language, he soon became head of the translators' office; in September 1810 this also consisted of Translator 1st Class Duvau, Translators Jaubert, Gourbillon, Noinville, Romegou, Kermel, Malmontel, Lesecq and Lesage – the latter two serving as copyists.

In 1810 a new face entered the Cabinet, a colonel of engineers named Deponthon. He had served with distinction since the Italian campaign, and in 1806 as an orderly officer to the Emperor. These two nominations – Mounier and Deponthon – were in fact the result of an earlier decree of 22 October 1804 that had created the *secrétariat du cabinet*. This would normally have consisted of two secretaries, of whom one would take care of the topographical office, and the second the gathering of statistical information on the enemy while also handling the correspondence with the different administrations. However, only

Gen Clarke – a former head of Gen Carnot's topographical bureau – was in fact appointed as a result of this 1804 decree, as secretary to the Emperor. He would be partly responsible for the topographical bureau, and partly for the correspondence concerning plans of operations and with the different administrations. But Clarke was subsequently given even wider responsibilities as local governor in captured cities such as Eylau and Berlin, and in 1807 he became Minister of War. For this reason the idea of enlarging the Cabinet was not pursued until the commissions of 1809 and 1810.

After following the Emperor on his campaigns, Baron Méneval returned from Russia ill and exhausted, and left the Cabinet in December 1812. His successor was Baron Agathon J-F.Fain (1778–1836), who had entered the Cabinet in February 1806 as *secrétaire-archiviste.* After the Russian campaign Napoleon reorganized his Cabinet: the posts of Portfolio Secretary and Secretary-Archivist would cease to exist, their places being taken by two Cabinet Secretaries, one responsible for despatches, interior administration and the Cabinet archives, and the second for translations and researching foreign newspapers. The secretaries would have two clerks to assist them (Jouanne and Prevost). From now on there would be one secretary available to the Emperor night and day, together with one of the clerks and someone from the topographical bureau.

Baron Fain took over the position of secretary in spring 1813 and retained it until Napoleon's second abdication after the fatal Waterloo campaign of 1815. The second secretary, Mounier, who had followed the Emperor on his 1809, 1812 and 1813 campaigns, received a yearly allowance of 10,000 francs, the Commander's Cross of the Imperial Order of the Reunion, and a barony. However, these rewards would not keep him at his post after the Emperor's first abdication; and Col Deponthon transferred to an active post in the army in 1813 after the Russian campaign.

Another Cabinet position was the *garde du portefeuille.* He was responsible for guarding and filing all the Emperor's correspondence and papers – copies as well as originals; he had to be able to deliver these to the secretaries on request, and was never to leave the 'portfolio' unattended. Since this service also had to be available throughout the day and night the post was held by two men, Landoire and Haugel. The latter, who followed the Emperor during the Russian campaign, died from exhaustion at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre in the carriage that had brought him back to France, and was replaced in 1813 with one Dejean. Next to these two 'security clerks' we find a certain Bary, who worked in the Cabinet as archivist.

Intelligence office

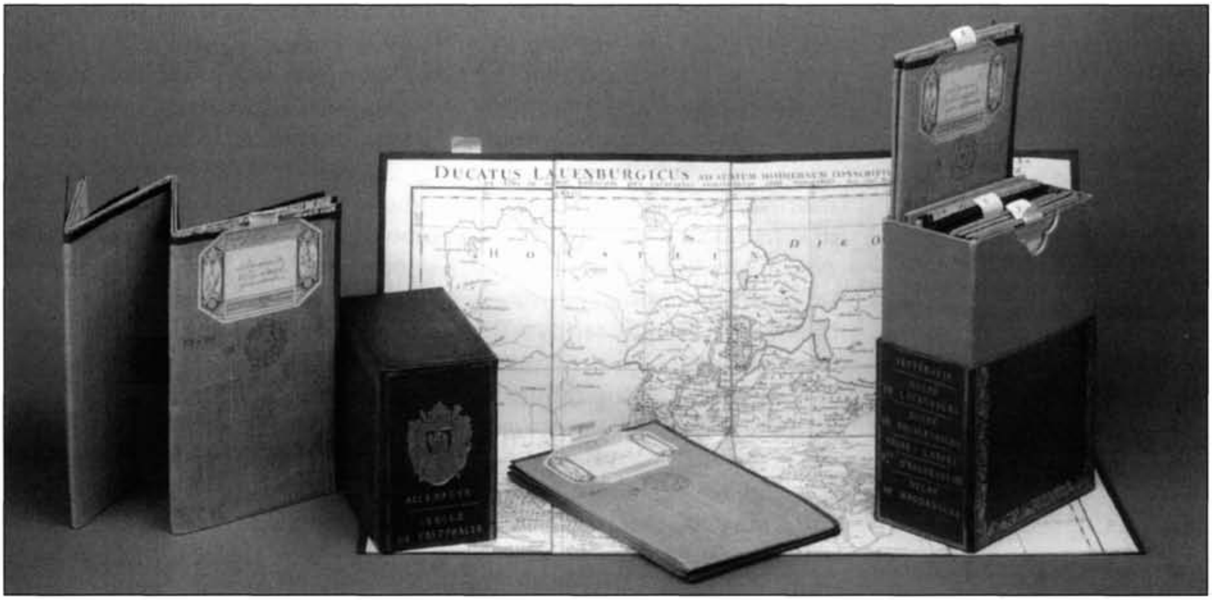
The *service d'espionage* or *bureau des renseignements* was a military intelligence organization, largely responsible for strategic intelligence, which was then passed on to Marshal Berthier's staff. At first commanded by Napoleon's ADC and future Minister of Police, Savary, its task was to obtain all useful information on the actual or potential enemy by means of informers. One of their most famous spies was a certain Schulmeister, known as 'Emissary Charles', who was active between 1805 and 1809.

Topographical office

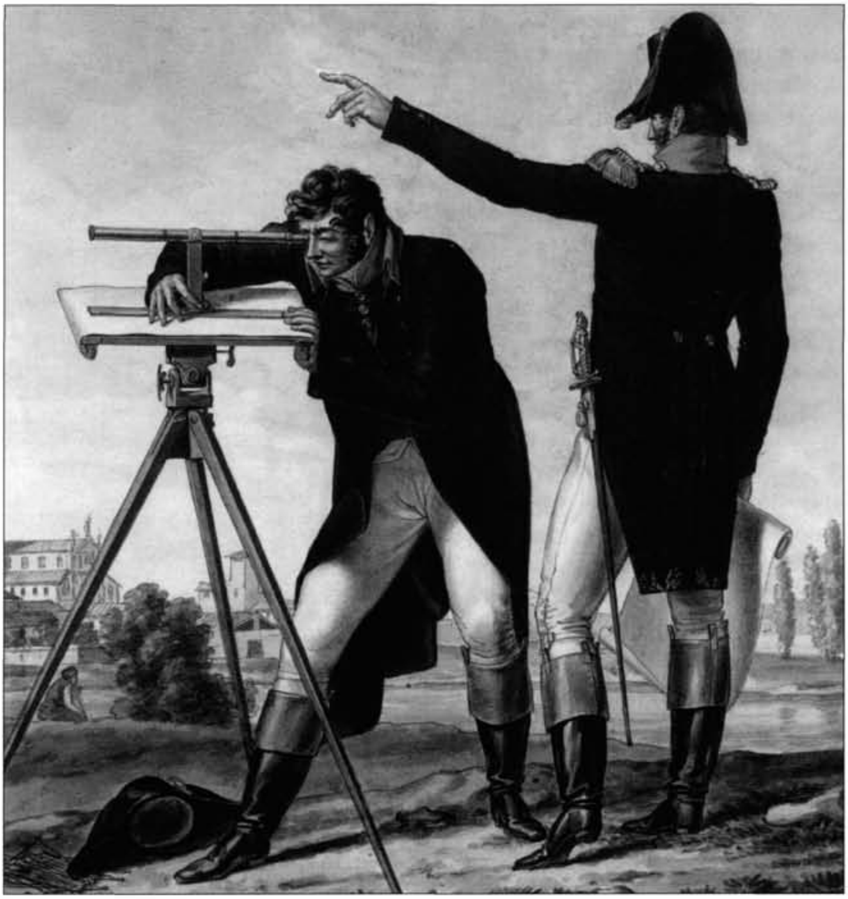
The third office of Napoleon's Cabinet was the *bureau* (or *cabinet*) *topographique de l'empereur.* Napoleon always attached an enormous importance to geographical information, insisting upon being fully briefed and having reports and continually updated maps ready to hand – not only of France and the other European states, but North Africa, Turkey and the Levant. His *bureau topographique* was of such importance that it always followed him wherever he went, installed in offices in his palaces or in a tent next to his own when on campaign. The head of the topographical office from 23 September 1804 was Louis Albert Guislain Bacler d'Albe (1761–1824), a loyal collaborator known to the Emperor since the siege of Toulon, but who attracted his attention during the first Italian campaign. Promoted major in 1806 and colonel in 1807, Bacler d'Albe followed Napoleon on all his major campaigns except to Egypt and Syria; for the Waterloo campaign he would be replaced with Gen Simon Bernard.

Bacler d'Albe was helped by several geographical engineers and other officers from the *Dépôt de la Guerre.* This documentation centre, first created in the 17th century for the king's service, had grown into a very professional operation for the obtaining, cataloguing and updating of relevant records. Napoleon knew its work well, since he had himself served with this office as a general at the time when he had fallen into disgrace with the Republican government.

When documentation on any particular subject was lacking, then Bacler d'Albe could fall back upon a system of agents to find and buy the item; anything useful from French, European, or British sources was bought, even when it cost a small fortune. In 1805, shortly before the war against the Austro-Russian coalition, Napoleon's ADC Savary travelled to Frankfurt-am-Main to buy the best maps of Germany. Later Bacler d'Albe would negotiate personally the acquisition of a large atlas of Russia containing some hundred maps. (By doing this, he also hoped to keep important maps out of the adversary's hands.)



Maps of Germany used during the 1813 campaign. Napoleon always insisted on having the best possible maps immediately available to him. The paper was glued down to linen or cardboard backing, and they were filed in these cardboard boxes covered with gold-blocked red leather. Some of his personal maps still survive, including those for Russia, and show small notes in the Emperor's hand. (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)



Topographical engineers, by Vernet. They are shown in dark blue uniform (right) and greatcoat (left), with *aurore* collars – the latter of stand-and-fall cut – and gold 'metal'. This 'dawn' colour may be described as pale orange, supposedly the shade of the sky in the first moments of sunrise. In winter the white trousers would be replaced by dark blue. The turnbacks on the field uniform were false, bearing the gold winged half-thunderbolt badges of the staff; the full dress uniform had *aurore* cuffs and true turnbacks. (Author's collection)

When nothing could be found on a certain subject or when supplementary information was needed, then Bacler d'Albe would send suitably trained artillery or engineer officers to the location to write reports and draw maps of the future war zones. In order to obtain the services of such officers Bacler d'Albe had to seek the permission of Gen Sanson, commander of the Dépôt de la Guerre, since this department had total control over the missions of the geographical engineers. On more than one occasion jealousy interfered with efficiency. Consequently, to clear such obstacles from Bacler d'Albe's path, the Emperor decreed on 9 August 1809 that the *Corps des ingénieurs-géographes* – which contained some 60 geographical officers – would henceforth come under the direct orders of Bacler d'Albe. Every evening the latter had to provide the Emperor with a report in which he could find the daily work done by every engineer.

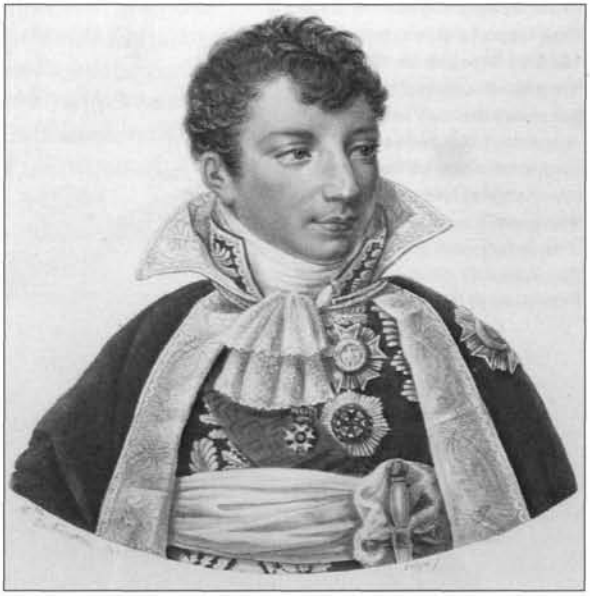
Before 1811, Bacler d'Albe worked with two assistants, Geographical Engineer Duvivier and Geographical Engineer Archivist Lameau, who were specialists in drawing large maps and plans of fortified cities, and in writing up the statistics on occupied or crossed territories and on foreign armies. Other officers – in a bureau which later became the translators' office in Napoleon's Cabinet – were Nettement, a translator of English; de la Tour Maubray; Bigot, a translator of German; Lancy, a translator of Spanish; and Haugel, who was the *'garcon de bureau'*. Bacler d'Albe had to wait until 24 October 1813 before being promoted *général de brigade*, a promotion that improved his authority to request information from ministries or senior ranking generals. On 18 November of that same year, the Emperor decreed that his former orderly officer Chef de Bn Baron Atthalin would become the vice-director of his topographical office.

Before opening any campaign or battle, the Emperor shut himself up with Bacler d'Albe in the topographical office, where they would examine maps glued on linen or cardboard, measuring, estimating and calculating distances; coloured pins planted in the maps indicated the various French and enemy units. From time to time the size of the maps obliged both men to climb on to the table; lying stretched out on it, they were sometimes so absorbed that their heads came into collision – 'Gently!' the Emperor once exclaimed, rubbing his head, 'I'm not made of granite!' Bacler d'Albe's office may be considered as the origin of all initial campaign planning; once Napoleon had decided upon a general idea of how to move his troops, he would call for Marshal Berthier and dictate his instructions. From then onwards the details became the concern of the Major-General and his staff.

While on campaign Bacler d'Albe was the second most important man in the Imperial Headquarters, and was always the first and last to be consulted by the Emperor before leaving, whether by day or night. The bulk of the new information to update his maps came from Berthier's general staff, and from Baron E.L.F.Lelorgne d'Ideville (1780–1852), who had served since 1800 as secretary-translator in the offices of the First Consul. After spending some time in northern Europe and Russia, in about 1808 he took over the direction of the Foreign Statistical Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His task was to collect all possible information on other countries and their armies and fleets, both from French legations abroad and from a network of informants for which he had his own budget. This information was collated into books, the *'Livrets'*. In 1812, Napoleon took Lelorgne d'Ideville with him to Russia as secretary-translator, to interrogate Russian civilians and prisoners of war. He also read letters, reports and documents taken from the enemy, and created a system of local informants. He continued in this task during the 1813 and 1814 campaigns in Germany and France and during the Hundred Days.

For constant information on the strength of his armies, Napoleon could call upon the daily rolls of the different corps, which furnished him with the latest information on their location and their numbers in officers, men and equipment. Additionally, the *livrets de situation* were richly detailed studies of his army; bound in red leather, these included volumes on the different corps, on the artillery and the engineers, on conscription statistics by geographical department, and so on.

General Duroc portrayed in the silver-decorated red court uniform of Grand Marshal of the Palace. One of Napoleon's closest companions, Duroc supervised every aspect of the Emperor's Civil Household, and also his security. After he was killed in 1813 his absence was keenly felt. He was replaced by Gen Bertrand, who followed the Emperor to St Helena. This uniform is illustrated as Plate F1 in Elite 72, *Napoleon's Commanders (1): c1792–1809.* (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)



THE CIVIL HOUSEHOLD

This could be regarded as Napoleon's 'court in the field', and by 1806 it already numbered some 800 persons. It was the domain of two of his most devoted followers since the start of his career: Grand Marshal of the Palace Michel Duroc, Duke of Friuli, and Grand Equerry Armand de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenzo.

The **Grand Marshal** looked after Napoleon's wellbeing and comfort, and in this capacity he was always close at hand. Duroc was aided by a very devoted and carefully selected staff, mainly civilians, most of whom were personally known to the Emperor. In addition to the kitchens, lighting, heating, and all the personnel of the palace, the Grand Marshal was also responsible for the Emperor's security, and commanded the Guard detachments that surrounded and escorted him at all times. On more than one occasion the Grand Marshal was also entrusted with diplomatic and even secret missions.

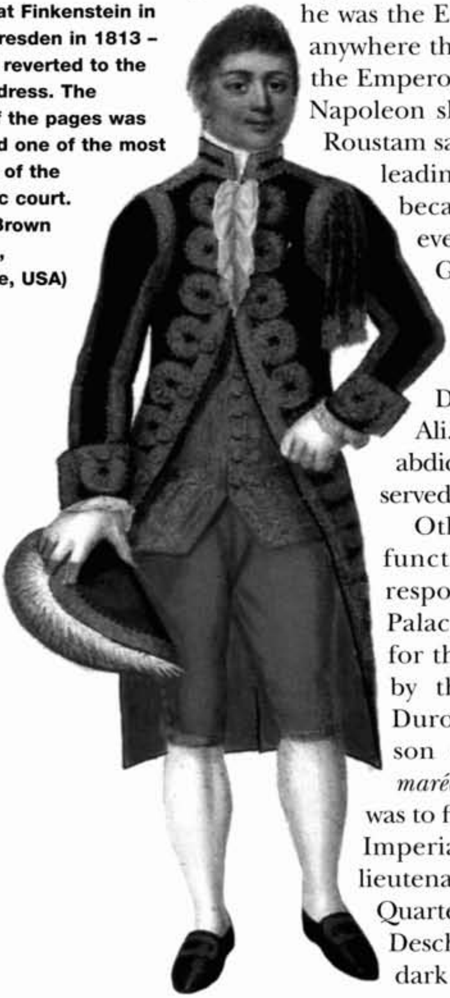
On 22 May 1813, Gen Duroc was killed near Görlitz in Silesia. He was temporarily replaced by the Grand Equerry, who was then responsible for the whole household until Gen Henri-Gatien Bertrand, a former ADC of Napoleon, was created Grand Marshal of the Palace on 18 November 1813. Bertrand would remain at Napoleon's side during his first exile on Elba in 1814 and during the Waterloo campaign, and followed the Emperor to St Helena, where he remained until Napoleon's death.

For his personal domestic staff Napoleon had four servants: Constant, Sénéchal, Pelard and Hubert. The first-named was the most important, enjoying the full trust of the Emperor; Sénéchal was his stand-in in case he could not be on duty. However, Constant left the Emperor after his first abdication in 1814, and was replaced by Marchand who, like Gen Bertrand, would serve the Emperor on St Helena until the latter's death.

One of the most exotic and eye-catching figures in Napoleon's entourage was his personal Mameluke, Roustam, whom he had brought back with him after the Egyptian campaign. Next to Constant he was the Emperor's closest body servant, and if Roustam was seen anywhere then it was certain that Napoleon was near by. He helped the Emperor dress and put on his boots, and held the mirror while Napoleon shaved himself. When the Emperor travelled by coach, Roustam sat on the seat in front; and at night he slept in the room leading to the Emperor's bedroom. From 1812, Roustam became responsible for the Emperor's firearms; every evening, assisted by an aide and in the presence of the Grand Equerry or the duty equerry, Roustam unloaded the Emperor's pistols to reload them afresh.

From 1811 onwards Roustam was assisted in his duties by a second Mameluke; French by birth and named Saint Denis, he entered Napoleonic history under the name of Ali. Roustam left the Emperor's service at the time of his first abdication; it was Ali who followed him into exile on Elba, served him at Waterloo, and accompanied him to St Helena.

Other members of Napoleon's entourage with court functions included the Count de Turenne, who was responsible for the Emperor's wardrobe; and Marshal of the Palace Count de Beausset, a huge man, who was responsible for the *service de bouche* (kitchen staff) and who was assisted by the *préfet du palais,* Alexandre Canouville. One of Duroc's closest subordinates was Capt Philippe de Ségur, son of the Grand Master of Ceremonies, who acted as *maréchal des logis de la cour* (Court Lodgings Marshal). His task was to find and allocate accommodation for the members of the Imperial Headquarters; he was assisted by four former lieutenants of the Gendarmerie, the *fourriers du palais* (Palace Quartermasters). These men – Pierre-Quentin Joseph Baillon, Deschamps, Emery, and the Dutch-born Jonckbloet – wore a dark green uniform with an amaranth (crimson) collar. They



Page in full dress, by Hoffmann. The coat is dark green lined scarlet, over a scarlet waistcoat, both with heavy gold embroidery; scarlet knee breeches are worn with white stockings and shirt frills, and gold-buckled black shoes; the hat has broad gold lace and white feather edging. Two to four pages, or in Russia as many as five, normally followed the Emperor when on campaign. In the field they wore plainer dark green uniforms with gold lace around the collar and cuffs and down the front of the coat; the only distinction worn on both uniforms was dark green and gold shoulder cords. On campaign the main task of the duty page was to ride close behind the Emperor carrying his telescope. Where Napoleon's headquarters settled for a long time – as at Finkenstein in 1806 or Dresden in 1813 – the pages reverted to the full court dress. The uniform of the pages was considered one of the most expensive of the Napoleonic court. (Ann S.K.Brown Collection, Providence, USA)

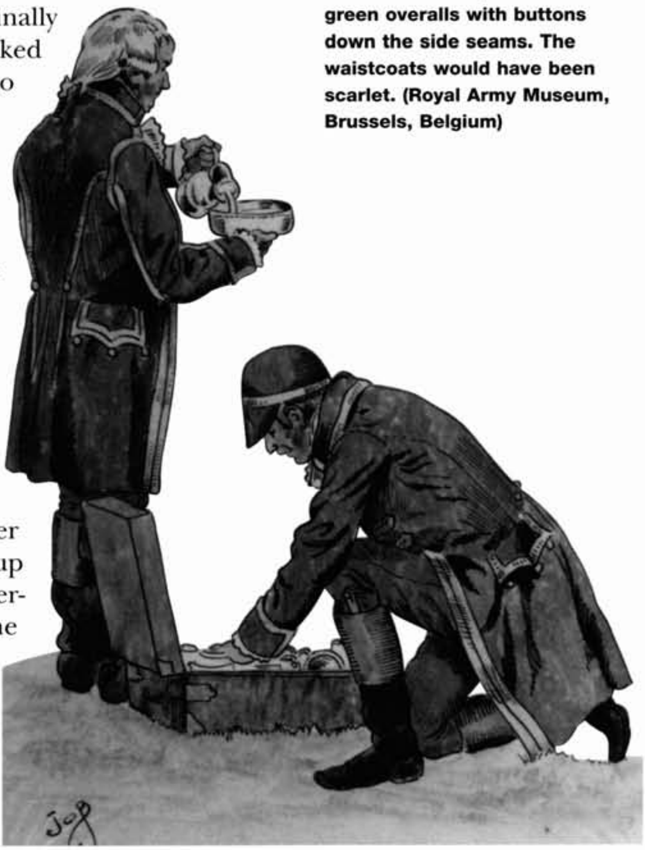
were responsible for cleaning, furniture and supplies for the Emperor's quarters, and also looked after the staff's uniforms.

Napoleon was accompanied on campaign by four court physicians and four or five surgeons, of whom the senior, Dr Alexandre Yvan – who treated the Emperor's ankle wound at the battle of Ratisbonne in 1809 – always rode behind him. Next to them we find the Crown Paymaster, Peyrusse; and four pages. The latter, under the supervision of the Grand Equerry, were sons of generals, senior administrators or members of the nobility, such as the sons of Marshals Moncey and Oudinot and General Gudin. Between 1805 and 1814, some 150 young men entered this service; after completing it they were destined to become officers in the cavalry. For palace service the pages wore uniforms heavily embroidered in gold, but on campaign they used more comfortable green, long-tailed, single-breasted coats with scarlet lining and gold lace edging on the collar, cuffs and pockets.

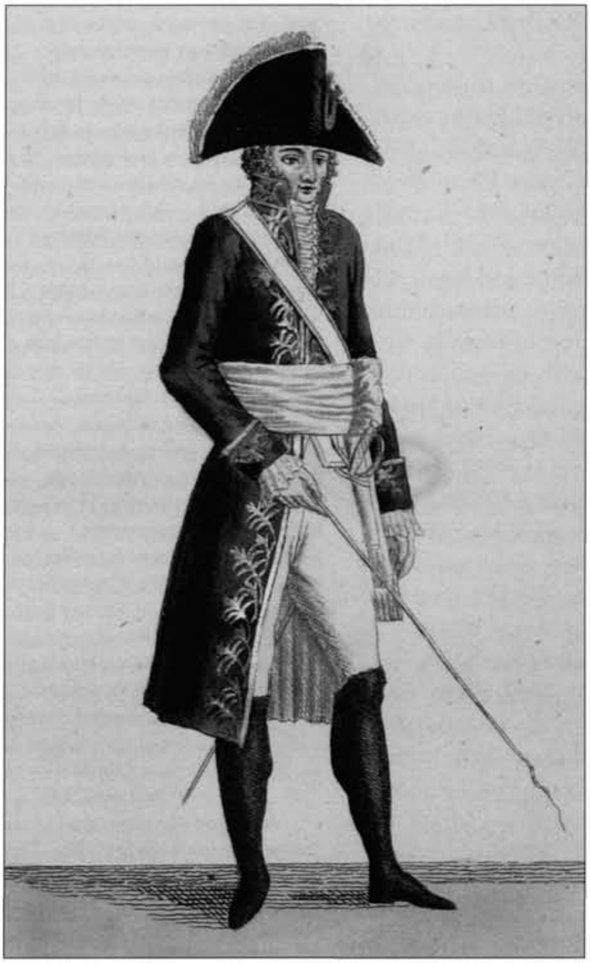
Butlers, cooks, *maîtres d'hôtel* (kitchen controllers) such as Pfister and his successor Colin, *valets de chambre*, etc., completed a staff large enough to provide the Emperor with the same quality of service as he enjoyed when in residence at one of his palaces. In his memoirs, Constant wrote of Pfister – a faithful servant to whom the Emperor was most attached, and who had accompanied him in many dangers including the Egyptian campaign – that on the day of the battle of Landshut (21 April 1809) 'this poor man went mad. He ran out of his tent, hid in a wood near the battlefield, and stripped himself completely of his clothes.' When the Emperor later called for Pfister he was nowhere to be found, and an emissary was even sent to the Austrians to offer an exchange in case he had been taken prisoner. Finally he was discovered hiding behind a tree, stark naked and much lacerated by briars. He seemed to recover, and resumed his duties; but after the court's return to Paris he suffered a relapse and had to be confined in the care of Physician Esquirol. Pfister remained obsessed by his duty to Napoleon, imagining himself still in a position of trust, but he died without ever regaining his reason.

The **Grand Equerry** supervised all matters regarding the imperial stables, grooms and couriers, as well as the pages. He received his orders from Napoleon regarding eventual departures when the latter woke up or went to bed. When they were going to mount he would always walk in front of the Emperor, handing over his whip and holding the reins and the left stirrup of the Emperor's horse. A major duty was supervising and maintaining the carriages, ensuring the skills of the *piqueurs* (outriders), coachmen and postilions, and the training of the horses.

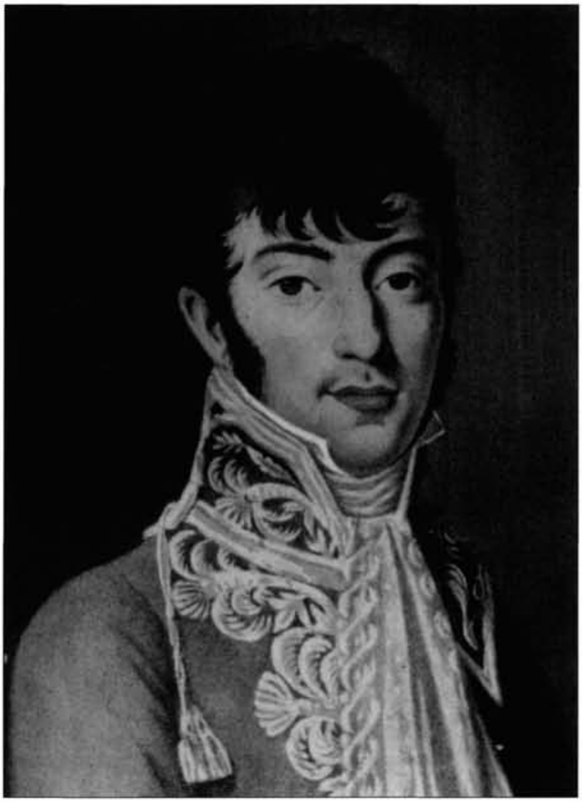
The Emperor used different types of coaches. For long distances he rode in a multipurpose carriage that could serve as an office and a bedroom. (The identification of



Two of Napoleon's valets, one of the *chambre* or bedchamber (standing), and one *valet à pied* or footman. In this study by Job, the former wears a wig as he would have done in a palace. His dark green coat laced with gold is a simpler version of that worn at court. The kneeling footman is arranging one of the Emperor's *nécessaires* – large boxes with toilet articles and/or table services; most of the latter were made in silver-gilt by the famous goldsmith Biennais. Smaller versions of these boxes also existed, and were carried in portemanteaux on horseback when the Civil Household accompanied Napoleon on campaign. The footman is based on a drawing by Benjamin Six and wears a kind of 'jockey cap'. Job differs here from other sources: the double gold lace down the front of the coats is shown by Six as a single stripe, and he omits these lace loops on the chest of the footman's coat. Job shows red trousers; sources normally show dark green overalls with buttons down the side seams. The waistcoats would have been scarlet. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)



ABOVE **Equerry in full court dress of sky-blue with silver embroidery. The same embroidery was displayed by the orderly officers, who also came under the authority of the Grand Equerry. On campaign they wore a simpler uniform but in the same colour and with the same pattern of embroidery. (Author's collection)**



Napoleon's particular vehicles is hampered by the use of different terms; the office-cum-bedroom vehicle ordered prior to the Russian campaign from the coachbuilder Gatting or Goeting was technically classed as a *berline coupé*, but was registered by the imperial stables as a *dormeuse* – 'sleeper'.[1]) When the Emperor arrived near the army this would become part of the *'gros équipages'* to follow the Emperor at a distance, together with the rest of the vehicles of the household. To travel from corps to corps Napoleon used light carriages offering only two seats, usually occupied by the Emperor and Marshals Berthier or Murat, Gen Duroc or Gen de Caulaincourt.

When the Emperor travelled by coach, Caulaincourt would normally travel in the vehicle immediately preceding the Emperor's. When travelling on horseback he was charged with the task of handing over a map of the region whenever asked by the Emperor, and if the Emperor's horse should fall it was his duty to help Napoleon up and, if necessary, give him his own horse. Caulaincourt was assisted by equerries – e.g. Baron de Mesgrigny, and the Dutch-born Baron A.J.van Lennep – or general officers who held some kind of command in the

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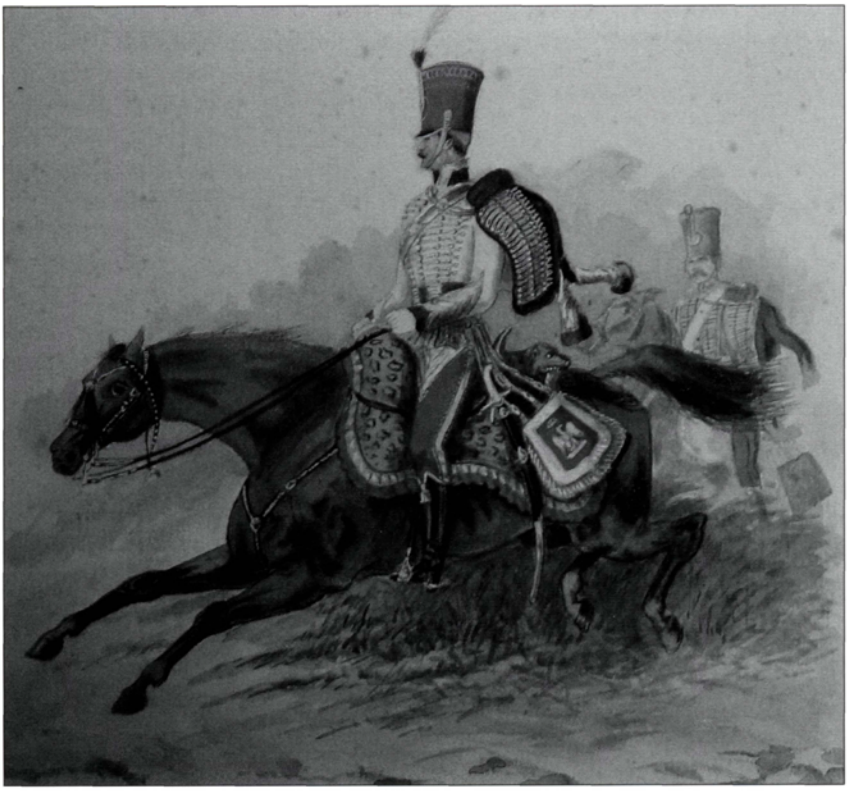
[1] Three separate *dormeuses* were built for Napoleon's personal use. No.300, delivered in March 1812, was later taken to Vienna by the Empress Marie-Louise; No.336, delivered in March 1813, travelled to and from Elba with Napoleon, but was abandoned at Grasse in March 1815. Early in the Waterloo campaign Napoleon rode in No.389 (built in great haste in spring 1815); this was abandoned on 18 June by the Mameluke Ali, and 'captured' by the Prussian Maj von Keller of IR Nr.15 – who looted it, made up a fanciful tale of the Emperor leaping from it to escape, and subsequently sold it to the British government. For a careful analysis of the fate of Napoleon's *dormeuse* and *landau* on the evening of Waterloo, and several interesting illustrations, see 'Phaeton's Chariots: The Mystery of Napoleon's Waterloo Carriage' by Anthony de la Poer & Eugène Leliėpvre, *Military Illustrated Past & Present* Nos.33 & 34, February & March 1991.

OPPOSITE **Baron Adrien Charles Marie de Mesgrigny (1778–1849), in equerry's sky-blue full court dress with slung cape. The silver palm-leaf embroidery is of the pattern used only by those in the service of the Grand Equerry. Mesgrigny followed the Emperor on many campaigns; after Waterloo he took him back to Malmaison, and then out of Paris towards exile. (Author's collection)**

field or at the headquarters. The First Outrider, Jardin *père,* looked after the Emperor's horses. In 1812 we find another *piqueur* named Guy in Napoleon's entourage; in 1813 one Amodru became *sous-piqueur d'attelage,* and would follow the Emperor to Elba and at Waterloo.

The following list gives an idea of the personnel of Napoleon's court and Cabinet in the field in 1813:
Grand Marshal of the Palace: Gen Duroc, Duke of Friuli
Grand Equerry: Gen de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenzo
ADCs to the Emperor: Gens Mouton, Count of Lobau; Lebrun, Duke of Plaisance; Drouot, Flahaut, Dejean, Corbineau, Bernard, Durosnel and Hogendorp
First Orderly Officer: Chef de Bn Gourgaud
Orderly Officers to the Emperor: Baron de Mortemart, Baron Atthalin, Béranger, de Lauriston, Barons Desaix, Laplace and de Caraman, de Saint-Marsan, de Lamezan, Pretet and Pailhou (& d'Aremberg, detached service at Danzig)
First Chamberlain: Maître de la garde-robe, Count de Turenne
Prefect of the Palace: Baron de Beausset
Maréchal-des-logis du palais: Baron de Canouville
Equerries: Barons van Lennep, Montaran and de Mesgrigny
Cabinet Secretaries: Barons Mounier and Fain
Cabinet Clerks: Jouanne and Prevost
Translators: Lelorgne d'Ideville and Vonzowich
Director of Topographical Office: Baron Bacler d'Albe
Ingénieurs-géographes: MM Lameau and Duvivier
Pages: Montarieu, Devienne, Saint-Perne and Ferreri



Mounted ADC to Berthier. Marshals could choose their ADCs, and Berthier chose to surround himself with young men from the families of the old nobility. The Major-General's ADCs wore special uniforms designed by the military artist Baron Lejeune – one of their number. The black pelisse thrown over the left shoulder was bordered with black astrakhan, replaced in 1807 by grey astrakhan to follow the latest fashion. A white dolman, scarlet pantaloons, black silk and gold braid barrel sash, and a scarlet shako surmounted by a white heron feather – all of them lavishly embroidered with gold lace – completed the uniform, which is illustrated as Plate K2 in Elite 72, *Napoleon's Commanders (1): c1792–1809.* (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

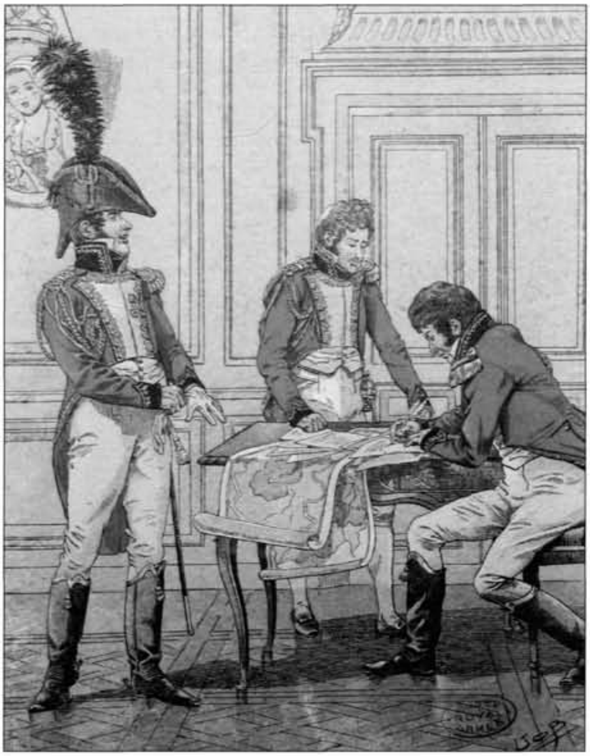
ARMY GENERAL HEADQUARTERS (*GRAND ÉTAT-MAJOR GÉNÉRAL*)

Alongside the Emperor's Military Household but functioning as a totally independent organization was the 'Major-General's Headquarters'. Since the earliest collaboration of Gens Bonaparte and Berthier during the first Italian campaign, the organization of this Army General Headquarters was more or less fixed, and it would see only slight changes during the later campaigns of the Empire.

From 1804 until 1807, Marshal Berthier had a double role: as Minister of War, and as Major-General (in modern terms, Chief of the General Staff) of the Grande Armée. No one was better qualified for this task than Louis-Alexandre Berthier – meticulous, hard-working, a brilliant organizer, with a superb memory for details and figures; and no one was so capable of relieving Napoleon of all detailed work, of understanding him instantly and foreseeing what he would need. His unique qualifications for the task of getting Napoleon's armies on the march were confirmed by the results of his absence in 1815.

The General Headquarters was Berthier's unique domain, and Napoleon respected this demarcation. Its personnel received orders only from the Major-General, and even the Emperor did not interfere in its immense tasks; he would never walk in on Berthier's private staff while they were writing and copying the orders that he had just given. Since Napoleon was his own 'operations officer', we can say that Berthier's job consisted of absorbing the Emperor's strategic intentions, translating them into written orders, and transmitting them with the utmost speed and clarity. He also received in the Emperor's name the reports of the marshals and commanding generals, and when necessary signed them on the Emperor's behalf. Detailed reports on everything that occurred for good or ill were to be sent to Berthier; nothing was to be concealed from the Emperor.

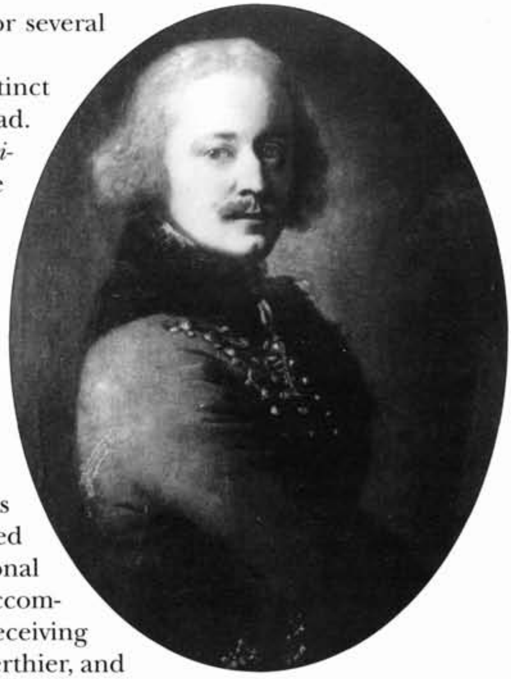
Berthier's ADCs in undress uniform, which displayed the colours of the hussar-style full dress in different ways: the black of the pelisse in the collar, cuffs and plume; the red of the trousers in the coat; and the white of the dolman in the square-cut reversed lapels and the small-clothes. The rich gold decoration included gold aiguillettes identifying them as members of Berthier's staff – a distinction normally worn only by Imperial Guard officers. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)



As Minister of War he was responsible for all matters such as personnel, the ministerial budget, the Emperor's orders regarding troop movements within the Empire, the departments of artillery and engineers, and prisoners of war. While on campaign he was replaced in Paris with M.Denniée *pére,* and only took with him a few ministerial employees such as M.Gérard, responsible for movements of units stationed within the borders of France, and M.Tabarié, of the personnel department.

In fulfilling his multi-faceted task Berthier could rely upon carefully selected civilian employees and a military staff, but all the work they undertook was verified by him. Even when exhausted he would read the written orders, sign them and have them sent off before trying to get some rest. It was not unusual for Berthier to stay awake for several days and nights at a time.

The *grand état-major général* was divided into three distinct sections, each with an Assistant Major-General at its head. These were the *bureau du major général*, the *état-major particulier*, and the *état-major général*. Moreover, we read in the memoirs of Baron Fain that Berthier, in his status as Marshal of the Empire, Prince of Neuchâtel and Major-General of the Grande Armée, always tried to imitate the Emperor in everything. Thus he not only kept a large train of domestic servants in his personal livery, cooks, grooms and horses, but also a personal Cabinet.



Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand von Funck. This Saxon general officer served, in around 1807, as liaison officer between the Imperial Headquarters and the Saxon court and army, and left interesting memoirs of military life of the period. Particularly in 1812, the Army General Headquarters must have been a beehive of foreign liaison officers serving 'à la suite'. (Army Museum, Dresden, Germany)

MARSHAL BERTHIER'S CABINET (*Bureau du major général*)

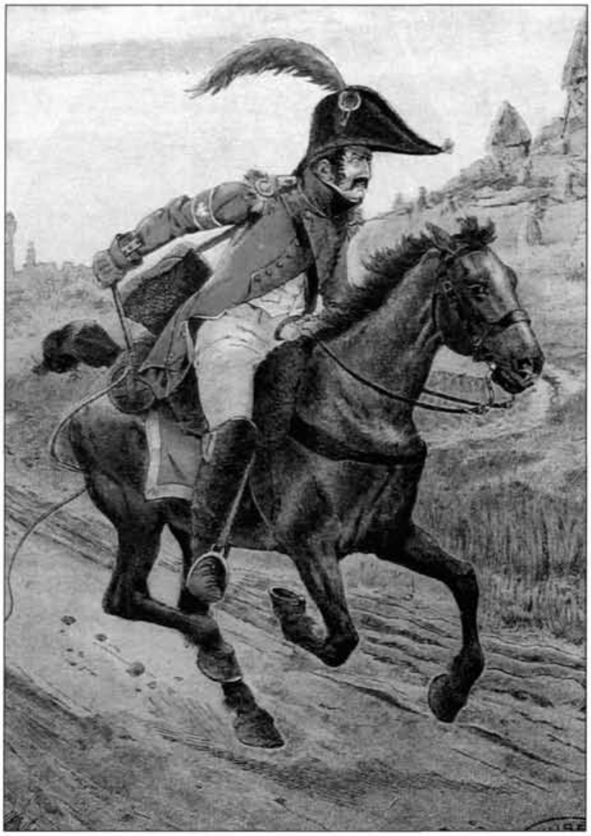
This bureau was composed of humble, hard-working clerks who served the chief of staff with devotion, and were treated by Berthier with benevolent consideration. Their unconditional loyalty did not spring from personal ambition, and some accompanied the marshal on several or all his campaigns without receiving any kind of promotion. Their only reward was to work for Berthier, and to receive assurances of his and the Emperor's satisfaction.

Perhaps the most important member of this Cabinet was Captain, later Monsieur Salamon. This hard-working, energetic officer was forced to retire early from active service by a bullet that lodged in his thigh. Salamon was responsible for the troop movement office; he was assisted by Principal Clerk Chapuy, with four or five carefully chosen employees of whom two came from the Ministry of War (Clerks Latran and Boverat). Known by the late Empire as 'Father Salamon', this invaluable functionary had such unlimited devotion for Berthier that he sometimes ended his letters to the marshal with the words 'Je vous embrasse'. He was a walking encyclopedia of the Grande Armée who made it his business to know the exact composition of the armies and corps, their officers and their locations, so that sometimes when Berthier had written down an order from the Emperor he merely added at the top 'M.Salamon' and left him to deal with it. He was as able as was Berthier to write down the Emperor's intentions in the form of clear orders. Sometimes he or Berthier added extra information to render such orders even clearer from the perspective of the particular recipient.

It is unnecessary to explain in detail the considerable amount of work that the troop movement office had to deal with in getting troops from one point to another. It is sufficient simply to mention the problems of occupied territory, the slowness of communications, and the condition of the often unsurfaced roads of that period. To move a single battalion from Bayonne to Danzig, or from Naples to Hamburg, and to follow up their day-by-day progress was a time-consuming and frustrating task. Blessed with exceptional vigour and good health, Salamon, like his chief, often worked around the clock.

Next to Salamon were to be found two private secretaries to Berthier. One was *Commissaire des guerres* Le Duc, who was assisted by his deputy Guillabert and one employee. They were entrusted with the marshal's personal correspondence, the staff archives, all classified documents, and control over the Major-General's private budget. The second secretary was *Sous-Inspecteur aux revues* Dufresne, assisted by one employee; he was responsible for accountancy and internal administration such as promotions, rewards, pensions, etc., and dealt directly with the Ministry of War, the War Administration of the Intendant General, the Paymaster General, and other departments.

Another bureau that Berthier had at his disposal was his intelligence office. On 28 August 1805, Napoleon wrote to the Major General of the Grande Armée to have two portable boxes made, one for him and one for Berthier. The intention was to create a kind of parallel filing system, each chest being divided into different compartments for index cards. These would contain all possible information on the Austrian forces facing them; each army would have a section to itself, containing notes on the units assigned to it. Thus both the Emperor and his chief of staff would know everything about Austrian movements, strengths and locations down to the level of regiments, battalions or large detachments. The same resource was to be created regarding the armies stationed in Hungary, Bohemia, or elsewhere in the Austrian Empire. These files were to be updated every two weeks with information gleaned from German and Italian newspapers, or provided via the Ministries of War and Foreign Affairs from French legations abroad; the latter had secret instructions to keep continuous records of all troop movements which came to their notice.



Courier of Marshal Berthier. As Major-General of the Grande Armée, Berthier needed message riders in great numbers. As Prince of Neuchâtel he took red as the uniform colour for his ADCs, and also for his personal couriers – this officer wears a scarlet coat lined and faced blue, with gold 'metal' and white small-clothes. Couriers were also identified by a brassard showing a metal plaque indicating which ministry or department they served; in this case the scarlet brassard has a white embroidered eagle badge and edging. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

Berthier was also instructed to find a suitable officer for this administrative task. It needed to be someone who spoke German, and who would do nothing else than keep these files up to date. Berthier asked Ange-Francois-Alexandre Baron Blein (1767–1845) to organize the system, and consequently Blein is often seen as head of the intelligence service of the Grande Armée. However, this mission was not to last for long, since most of the intelligence passed first through the hands of Napoleon's ADC Gen Rapp before it reached Blein, and the latter soon followed a career as a chief of staff at corps level.

With the exception of Col Blein, all employees working in Berthier's Cabinet were civilians. They wore a blue coat *'à la francaise'*, with gilded buttons embossed with the emblems of the General Staff.

For Berthier's personal use a kind of portable office was devised, consisting of a series of chests which were divided into several compartments, each containing a number of drawers. Here Berthier kept folders, paper, ink and quill pens sufficient for at least 14 days. These chests opened at the front into desk-like bureaux fitted to accommodate folders concerning all marching orders and all movements of the headquarters, all general orders to the army, the register of all correspondence with ministers and commanding generals, general correspondence, secret documents, blank papers and printed ones, an analytical index, and so forth.

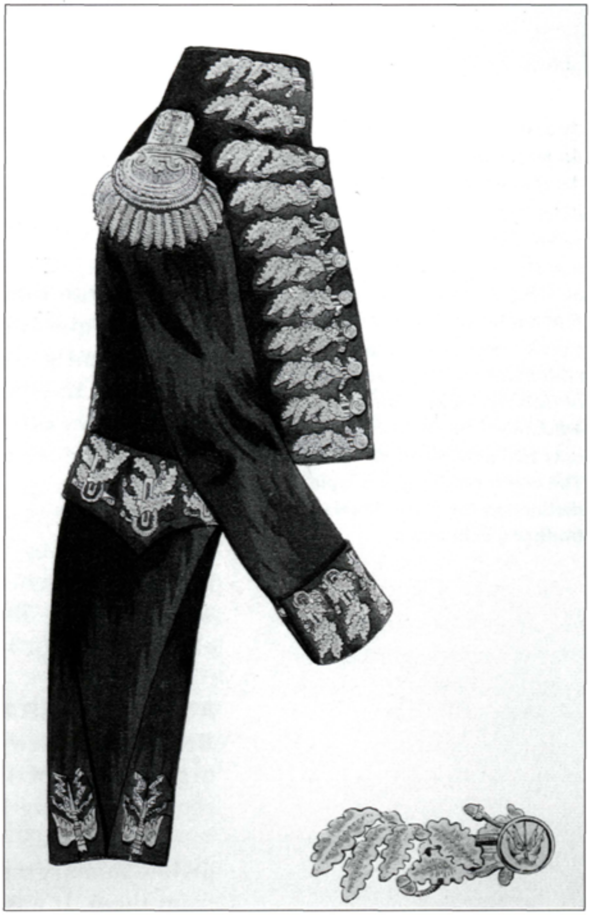
BERTHIER'S PRIVATE MILITARY STAFF (*État-major particulier*)

The private military staff of Marshal Berthier normally consisted of a number of generals, colonels and *adjutants-commandants* who served *'près le major général'*, and who were destined for important military or diplomatic missions which he could only entrust to senior officers. Known as 'First ADCs of the Major-General' (although this was an unofficial title), their number was never sufficient as the armies and the theatres of war steadily expanded.

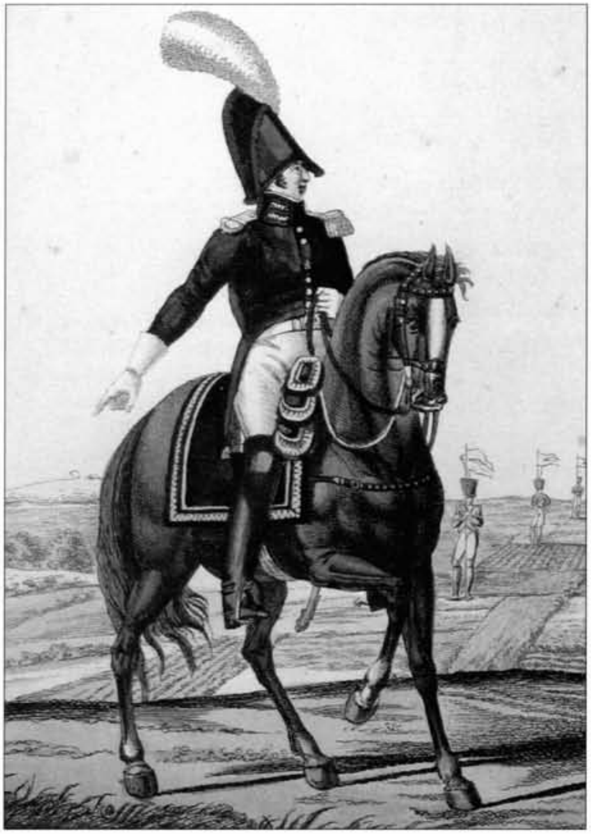
The private staff was commanded by an Assistant Major-General; in October 1806 this was the engineer Col Blein, who was simultaneously responsible for the intelligence office, and correspondence with the marshals. There was also one orderly officer who came from the Guard of Honour of the Principality of Neuchâtel, of which Berthier was the sovereign; and a certain number of foreign allied officers who served *'à la suite'*, e.g. Bavarians, Poles, Hessians, officers from Baden, Württemburg and others. All functioned as liaison officers between Imperial Headquarters and their allied units or courts. In 1805, Berthier even had with him a naval *capitaine de frégate* to advise on navigation on the Danube; and a director of telegraphs.

The most eye-catching group in this staff were the marshal's personal ADCs. Their number varied from time to time: there were six in 1805, 13 in 1807 and nine in 1812. They held any rank from sub-lieutenant to colonel, and were known to be *'enfants terribles'* – hard drinkers, gamblers, duellists, great chasers of petticoats and heart-breakers, and unafraid to speak proudly and firmly even to marshals. Berthier's ADCs were mainly chosen from members of the old aristocracy, families with names linked to France's history such as Choiseul, Fezensac, de Noailles, de Montesquiou, de Canouville, the two brothers Ducs de Bauffremont, Laczinski (brother of Napoleon's mistress Mme Waleska), and others of similar stripe. They were known for their royalist sympathies, and during the Russian campaign most remarks against the Emperor were said to come from Berthier's personal staff. In 1812 an ADC to Gen de Lariboisière wrote in his memoirs that for this reason the Emperor disliked Berthier's staff from that date on, although he had previously regarded them with some indulgence.

Educated in the old style, elegant in their manners and good-looking, Berthier's ADCs wore a flamboyant uniform in hussar style designed by the military painter who was one of their number, Baron Lejeune. For parades the



***Adjutant-commandant*'s uniform and embroidery. These staff officers had the rank of colonel and wore dark blue single-breasted uniforms with straight-cut collar and cuffs in scarlet for full dress and plain blue for everyday (as here). Collar, cuffs, horizontal pockets and front were decorated with a special pattern of gold oak-leaf embroidery, and the turn-backs with the general staff badge of a winged half-thunderbolt. (Author's collection)**



Assistant-Captain of the General Staff, by Martinet. The *adjoints* were the assistants of the *adjutants-commandants*; ranking as captains, lieutenants and sub-lieutenants (distinguished by their gold epaulettes), they fulfilled many of the administrative functions at the headquarters. They wore more or less the same uniform as the *adjutants-commandants* but with only two gold loops at the collar. The white plume was a typical distinction for staff officers. (Author's collection)

ADCs were mounted on grey-white Arabian horses with long tails and manes, with gold-decorated black leather harness and a panther-skin shabraque edged with gold and scarlet. These beautiful uniforms were jealously guarded by Berthier, who insisted that no other ADCs in the army could wear scarlet pantaloons; in Spain, noticing an ADC to Marshal Ney in the same colour, he nearly insisted that the unfortunate officer take them off on the spot.

One witness, Fezensac, who in 1809 served on Berthier's staff as an ADC *à la suite* (and wearing dark blue trousers...), wrote that their tasks were light. From time to time they had to transmit important orders – although this was normally done by the 'First ADCs'; or they had to copy documents which had nothing to do with staff work. Once the headquarters settled down they worked in pairs, rotating every four or five days. Their duties consisted of carrying and receiving despatches and receiving messengers. The former ADC Baron Lejeune wrote in his memoirs of 1809:

'I was now occupied all day at Prince Berthier's quarters in marking with pins on our maps the position of all the troops we had in Germany, and of the reinforcements on their way to join them, together with those of the stores of provisions, forage, shoes, etc., the parks of artillery and transport wagons, and even those movements of the enemy that we had been able to ascertain. The various corps – represented by movable pins with different-coloured heads on the maps of Germany, the Tyrol and Italy – looked very like the chessmen on a board, whose movements we could combine as they took it in turn to play. This guesswork prepared us for the more serious operations we were presently to undertake on the ground represented on our maps.

'Having thus made every preparation for a brilliant attack all along the Danube, on 31 March the Emperor gave his final orders to the Prince of Neuchâtel, sending him to take command of the army until he arrived to do so in person. The Prince took me with him in his carriage, and also his two secretaries, the estimable Baron Leduc and the indefatigable Salamon, whose special business it was to look after the movements of the troops, and who, though he had been badly wounded and still had a ball in his thigh, never relaxed his arduous efforts by day or by night.'

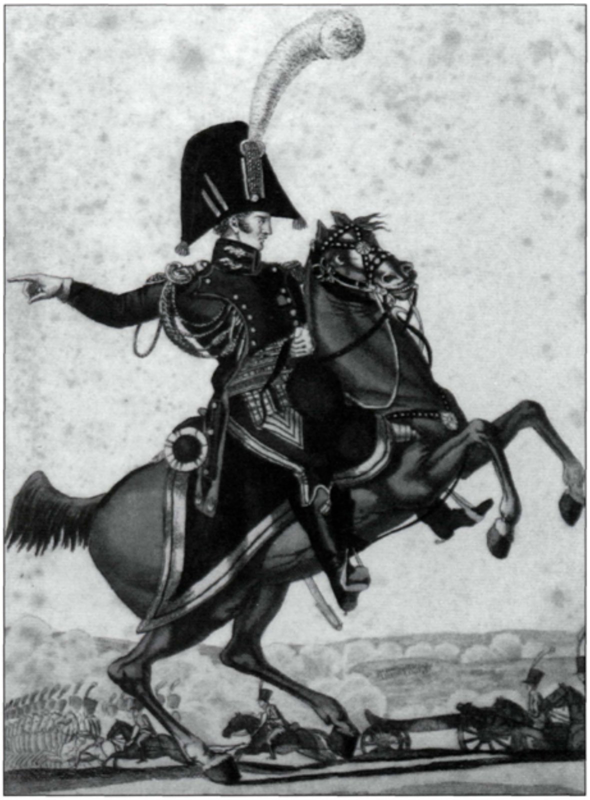
ARMY GENERAL STAFF (*État-major général*)

Before each new campaign opened, Marshal Berthier stipulated the organization of the general staff; but to a great degree this would remain unchanged throughout the Napoleonic Wars.

The general staff was independent from Berthier's Cabinet and private military staff and those of the Emperor, working at some distance from them. It was divided into three major sections, each commanded by a general officer who was appointed Assistant Major–General.

The **First Assistant Major-General** was the chief of staff to Berthier, and directed all branches of the general staff. His department was the biggest, and was divided in its turn into three different bureaux, each commanded by an *adjutant-commandant* who held the rank of colonel and who served as *chef de bureau.* The first division dealt with troop movements, passwords, transmission of orders, etc. The second division – whose chief was AdjCdt Petiet, with two *adjoints* (assistants) to help him – looked after the quarters of the general staff, police duties, the Gendarmerie, supplies and hospitals. The third division – headed by AdjCdt Boerner – was responsible for prisoners of war and deserters, requisitioning and conscripts, councils of war, laws and *arrêtes* (orders or decisions) of the government.

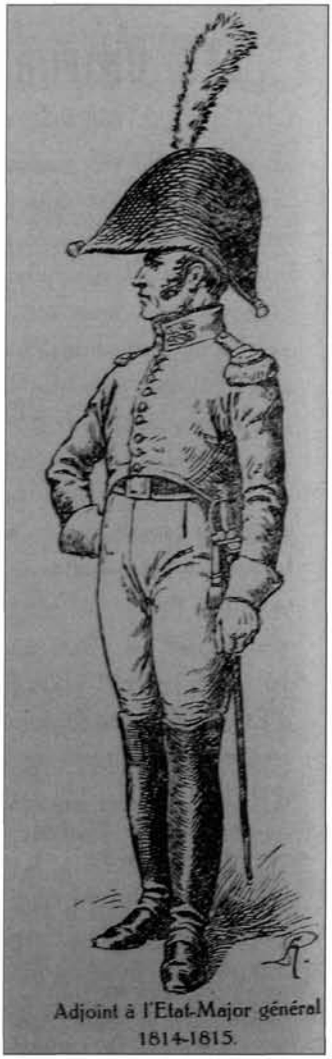
Later, on 3 November 1806, Berthier ordered that an *adjutant-commandant* of the general staff become responsible for the lines of communication and their security, selecting AdjCdt Petit-Pressigny for this task. Assisted by three officers, he was responsible for the 650km-long lines of communication from Mainz to Berlin and Posen, including all the depots and accommodation on these routes. This temporary fourth bureau of the general staff ceased to exist after Petit-Pressigny was assigned to another post in January 1807. In 1807 yet another division was created, with responsibility for corresponding with fortress commanders, reconnaissance, headquarters troops, and the Wagon Master General (*vaguemestre général*).



General Staff captain, by Martinet; this officer has a light cavalry undress uniform, in dark blue lined and piped scarlet over a braided scarlet waistcoat, and a light cavalry shabraque. The two collar loops identify his function as a staff officer, and the gold aiguillettes on his right shoulder further identify the staff of the Imperial Guard. His light cavalry distinctions include the captain's triple gold lace thigh embroidery *en pique*. (Author's collection)

Under the 'chief' of each of these divisions were the 'assistants to the general staff', who held the rank of captain (*capitaines-adjoints*) or lieutenant and who were the main working personnel of the staff; and other officers employed by the staff or who served 'à la suite'. These latter served as a pool of officers to fill vacant positions. During the approach march phase of a campaign most officers attached 'à la suite' were assigned duties in occupied cities or territories.

The number of officers serving 'à la suite' with the general staff fluctuated considerably. During the 1806–07 campaign they at first numbered only a few – in October, one Polish colonel, seven French senior officers, seven French lieutenants and two Polish sub-lieutenants, giving a total of just 14 officers. Additionally, the general staff had one *adjutant-commandant* and seven *adjoints chargés d'ordres* ('assistants to carry orders'); counting the 12 officers of Marshal Berthier's private military staff, this made just 34 or 35 officers available to carry orders to eight army corps and one reserve cavalry corps, all spread over great distances. The heavy employment of officers attached 'à la suite' emphasized the shortage of ADCs, orderly officers and other staff officers; and the former were later replaced by colonels, *adjutants-commandants* and assistants to the general staff from within the borders of the Empire.



Assistant to the General Staff, showing the *surtout*-type coat with nine front buttons. He wears a black waistbelt edged in gold and with a gilt plate. (Author's collection)

The services performed by all these men may be separated into field duties and administrative or 'indoor' tasks. In the former case, officers with the grade of *adjutant-commandant* might typically be employed on reconnaissance, on visits to the different formations and units, or in the command of fortresses or cities. Officers of the rank of *chef de bataillon* could also be employed as temporary military commanders of cities and fortresses, or to carry messages – like the captains. Assistant-captains would be used like lower ranking ADCs or orderly officers, to carry orders. The officers working in the offices of the general staff as administrators formed a distinct group; sometimes they too were obliged to go on missions or inspection tours, but they were never sent to carry orders.

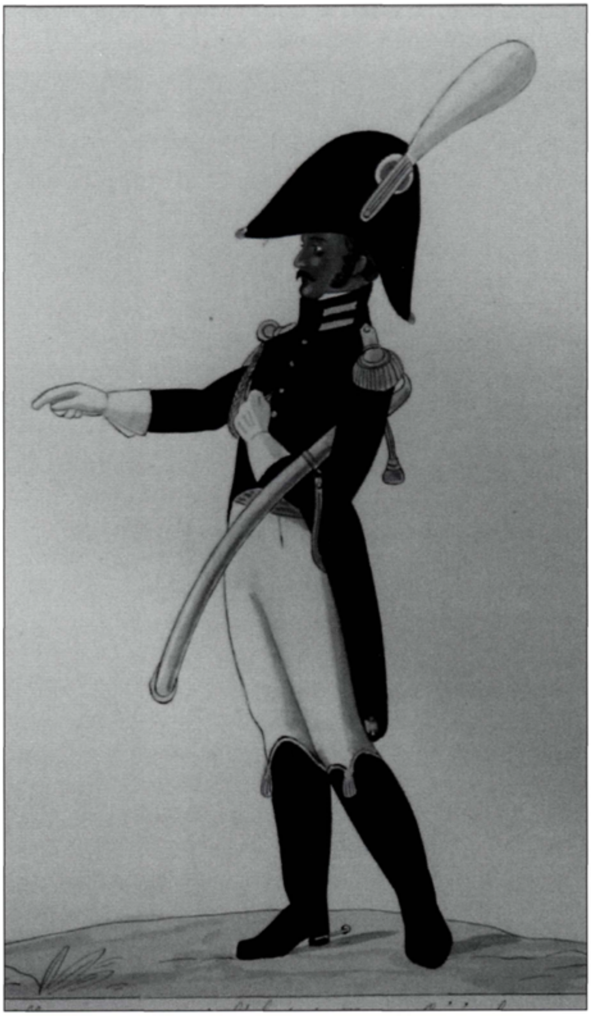
For many years there were no proper written regulations stipulating the different duties of the officers employed at the Army General Staff. It was only from 1813, when Gen Thiébault published the *Manuel général du service des États-Majors généraux et divisionnaires dans les armées* (Paris, Magimet), that the duties for staff officers were more or less described.

The First Assistant Major-General communicated with Berthier, and vice-versa, by means of written orders and reports. In 1805 the post was held by Gen Andréossy, assisted by Col Pascal Vallongue. In October 1806 it was Gen Lecamus' turn, but this officer was detained in Württemburg, so his functions were taken over by Col Blein. In 1807 Gen Pannetier replaced Blein in the post of *chef de l'état-major particulier* under Berthier, and the Emperor ordered that, by rights, he should also be named as chief of the army staff.

However, the best known First Assistant to Berthier, who became his right hand until the end of the Empire, was Gen Bailly de Monthion (1776–1850). A descendant of an old aristocratic family, Monthion was described as being a tall man with very distinguished looks, who showed great tact in his dealings with subordinates. In 1803 he joined Berthier at the Ministry of War as one of his aides, and quickly built up a good working relationship with the marshal. He followed him in 1805, and was promoted *adjutant-commandant* in 1806. For a time he served with Marshal Augerau's VII Corps, but rejoined the general staff after its destruction at Eylau in 1807. Known as an excellent organizer, Monthion was appointed military governor of Tilsit during the peace negotiations there between Napoleon and the Tsar of Russia. He then served with Marshal Murat in Spain, being promoted general of brigade in 1808. On 15 November of that year he rejoined Berthier's staff and followed Napoleon's march to Madrid. Monthion joined Berthier for the 1809 campaign against Austria, and on 21 March that year he became his chief of staff – a post he would hold without interruption until Napoleon's first abdication.

Monthion was responsible for running the headquarters itself. The preparation and despatch of orders, intelligence and personnel records all passed through his hands. His function was to control the movements and administration of the army, general staff headquarters, and also the movements of minor units not attached to any specific formation. His staff of *adjutants-commandants* handled in turn such matters as lines of communication, prisoner-of-war escorts and guards. In the absence of Marshal Berthier, Monthion had to deputize for him before the Emperor – one of the least envied roles in the army, second only to Berthier's itself.

In 1810 Monthion, based at Bayonne, served as an inspector general responsible for drafts sent to Spain. In March 1811 he took charge of the general staff set up in that city in anticipation of Napoleon leading a new army into Spain. In February 1812 he rejoined Berthier in Berlin as his deputy, to help prepare for the Russian campaign. When Berthier left the Grande Armée due to ill health it was Monthion who replaced him, serving as chief of staff to Eugène after Murat's departure. He continued in this role until Berthier returned to the army on 12 May 1813, and served again in this function when the latter once again fell ill between 24 August and 30 October 1813; he thus headed the army general staff at the battles of Dresden, Leipzig and Hanau. Monthion again served under Berthier in the 1814 campaign, and replaced him briefly when the latter was wounded at Brienne. He was with the Emperor at Fontainebleau at the time of the first abdication; and in 1815 he rallied to the returned Napoleon for the Hundred Days. Appointed chief of staff of the Armée du Nord on 8 April 1815, Monthion worked hard to establish an efficient staff as feverish preparations were made to ready the army for war. On 9 May 1815, Marshal Soult was created Major-General of the army; Monthion continued to serve under him as chief of the headquarters staff, but the two did not work well together.



Assistant to the General Staff, 1815, by Aerts. As in previous pictures, note the distinctions of the *adjoint* (two collar loops of oak-leaf embroidery, half-thunderbolt and wings emblem on the turn-backs, and white plume); this officer too wears gold aiguillettes on his right shoulder, indicating service in the Imperial Guard; and light cavalry boots. Our man wears the cockade and loop on the wrong side of his hat – although this artist is meticulous in representing his figures he never mentions his sources. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

The **Second Assistant Major-General**, with the title of 'Deputy Assistant-Major and Lodging Marshal of the Army', was responsible for military camps, marches and billeting. In 1805 this was the responsibility of Gen Mathieu-Dumas, who was assisted by one *adjutant-commandant* and three assistant captains. General Mathieu-Dumas would become Assistant Chief of Staff in 1809, and Intendant General of the Grande Armée in 1812.

The **Third Assistant Major-General** was Gen of Bde Count N.A.Sanson (1756–1824). After commanding the geographical officers from September 1806 until 1807, Sanson returned to that office for the Russian campaign, during which he was taken prisoner on 23 October 1812. He was also director of the Dépot de la Guerre (see above). His deputy was Col C.R.M.Bonne (1771–1839); this officer served with the Grande Armée during the Austerlitz campaign of 1805, when he was ordered to draw a map of Bavaria. Bonne became *colonel ingénieur-géographe* in November 1808; he commanded the topographical office of the general staff in 1809, from 1812 until 1814, and again during the Waterloo campaign of 1815.

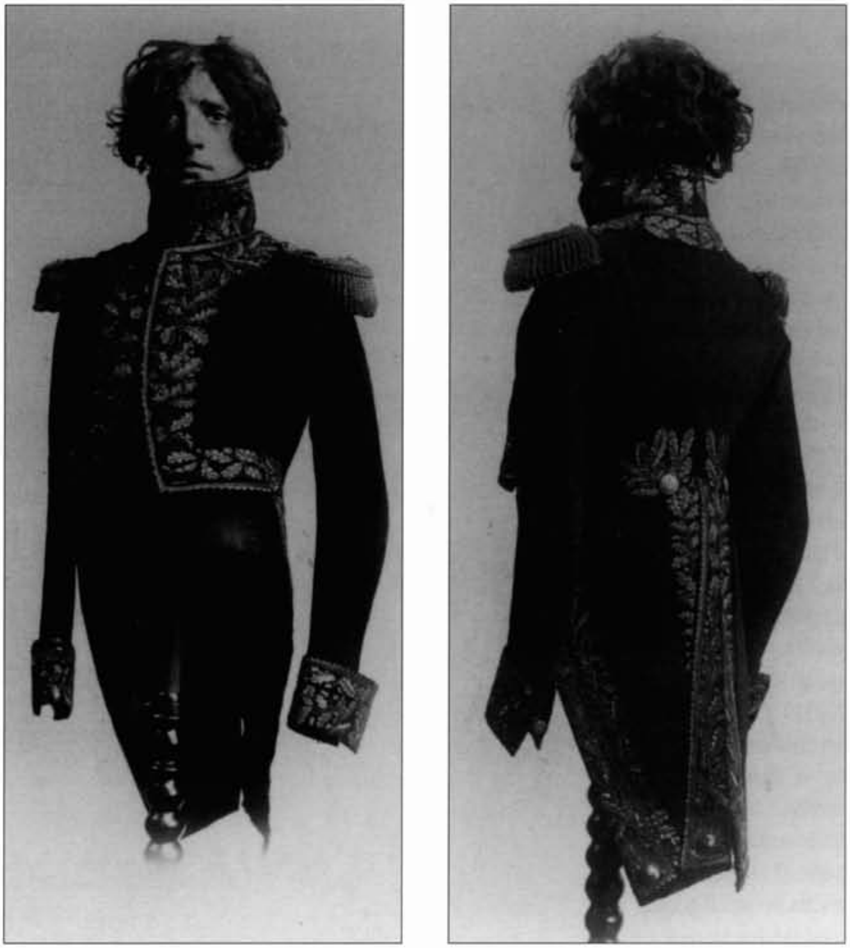
During the 1805 campaign Gen Sanson's service was called the *Bureau historique et topographique*, changing from 1806 onwards to *Service topographique de la Grande Armée.* Working with a dozen officers and geographical engineers (*ingénieurs-géographes*), his mission was to update the general staff maps daily with the latest locations of all formations of the army. He also supervised reconnaissance, gathered topographical information and maps and drawings made of battlefields and occupied countries. All important maps and reports for the Emperor's topographical office (see above) were duplicated so that Gen Sanson would have copies. His personnel held the grades of *ingénieurs chefs de section* (ranking as *chefs de bataillon*), engineers first class (captains), second and third class (ranking as lieutenants and sub-lieutenants). Their role was both hazardous and stressful. Since they were always in the front lines they were often killed, wounded or captured; and even if they avoided these dangers they worked practically non-stop, many becoming exhausted and being obliged to retire early from active service. In Russia in 1812 Gen Sanson's topographical staff suffered severely, losing nearly all the officers and the wagon containing the maps.

* * *

The *état-major général* was organized to allow Marshal Berthier to cope with any problem arising during a campaign, and to provide the Emperor with the most minute information on the army, its allies and its enemies. When on campaign Berthier insisted that his Assistant Major-Generals each assign two officers, one of them of senior rank, to accompany him closely at all times. However, the Emperor himself was not always pleased with the army general staff. In a letter of 28 January 1807 from Warsaw, he complained to Berthier that the latter's personnel were neglecting the proper order of march; the civilian clerks travelled on their own, and on more than one occasion were not at their posts when needed. Napoleon threatened them with arrest, hoping to bring them under a more reliable military discipline.

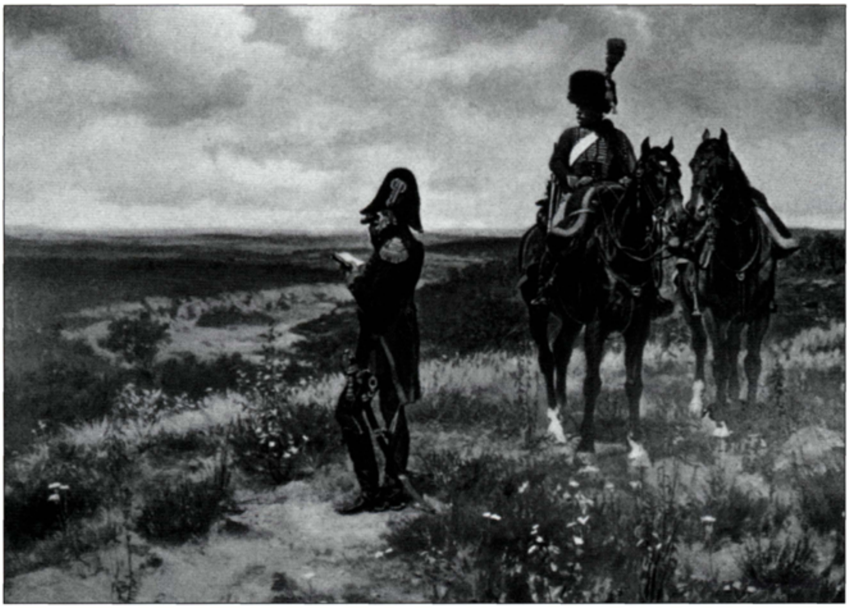
In 1809 the first major changes in the structure of the general staff were introduced, in response to many instances of overlapping and duplicated duties. Relieved of the burden of the Ministry of War, Berthier and his Cabinet were able to take responsibility for everything regarding orders, intelligence and personnel.

The parallel staffs and cabinets of the Emperor and the Major-General in fact made up only a



Full dress uniform of General J.L.Muller (1749–1824), who entered the army as an *enfant de troupe* and served during the Empire mostly as an Inspector General to the infantry. His uniform is a perfect example of the rich gold embroidery on dark blue cloth; the double row of oak-leaf pattern indicates his rank as *général de division*. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

fraction of the *grand quartier général impérial.* Baron Fain, Napoleon's secretary, wrote that a general view of its totality would have to include:



A staff officer on reconnaissance, with a Mounted Chasseur as escort. This light cavalry-style uniform seems to be based on that in the Martinet study of a staff captain on page 23, although the angle hides his Guard aiguillette. Officers were trained not only to take notes on what they saw, but also to make skilful topographical drawings. Since the *Chasseurs à cheval* of the Guard were always part of the Imperial Headquarters, it was probably not unusual for this unit to provide escorts to staff officers. (Author's collection)

The Secretariat of State (under Minister Maret)
The Intendance – this department, headed by the Intendant General, was never fully militarized, much to Napoleon's chagrin. This caused much wastage, incompetence, and plain corruption, to the disgust and the detriment of the ordinary soldiers.
The Paymaster General's Department
The Artillery and Engineer Departments
The staffs of the Colonel-Generals of the Imperial Guard
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs – on long-distance campaigns this department also kept a section close to the Emperor's headquarters.

To these headings must be added, in practice, the large numbers of troops which protected the headquarters; the domestic staff – servants, cooks, etc. – that the officers took with them; and all the necessary vehicles and beasts to transport them all. The Imperial Headquarters was a formation of such considerable size that on more than one occasion it was impossible to find enough quarters to lodge them all together. In such cases the major departments were kept close to the Emperor, with all the less important services spread around in the neighbourhood or left behind the lines. General Fezensac's memoirs describe an inspection by Marshal Berthier at Vilna in 1812: drawn up on a plain, one would have taken the *grand quartier général* for a complete army lined up for battle.

ARMY ADMINISTRATION

To describe this aspect of the army in any detail would require a book of its own. In the briefest terms, the administrative services of the army comprised the Inspectors of Reviews and the War Commissioners, who constantly had to argue with local authorities, suppliers, transport entrepreneurs, treasurers, depot keepers, etc. Many of the senior functionaries were conscientious, honest and hard-working administrators; but there were others who were not.

The **Inspecteurs des revues** were responsible for the organization, conscription, incorporation, dismissing, paying and auditing of the different military corps. They acted under the direct control of the Minister of War, and the hierarchy was as follows:

Minister of War
(Marshal Berthier, 1800–07; Gen Clarke, 1807–14; Marshal Davout, 1815)

Director General of Reviews and Conscription
(Lacuée, 1806–10; Mathieu-Dumas, 1810–12; Hastrel, 1812–14)
Inspectors in Chief of Reviews
In 1802, six, ranking as generals of division
Inspectors of Reviews
In 1802, 30, ranking as generals of brigade
Sub-Inspectors of Reviews
In 1802, 100, ranking as colonels
Assistant Sub-Inspectors 1st Class
Created 1811, ranking as *chefs de bataillon*
Assistant Sub-Inspectors 2nd Class
Ranking as captains

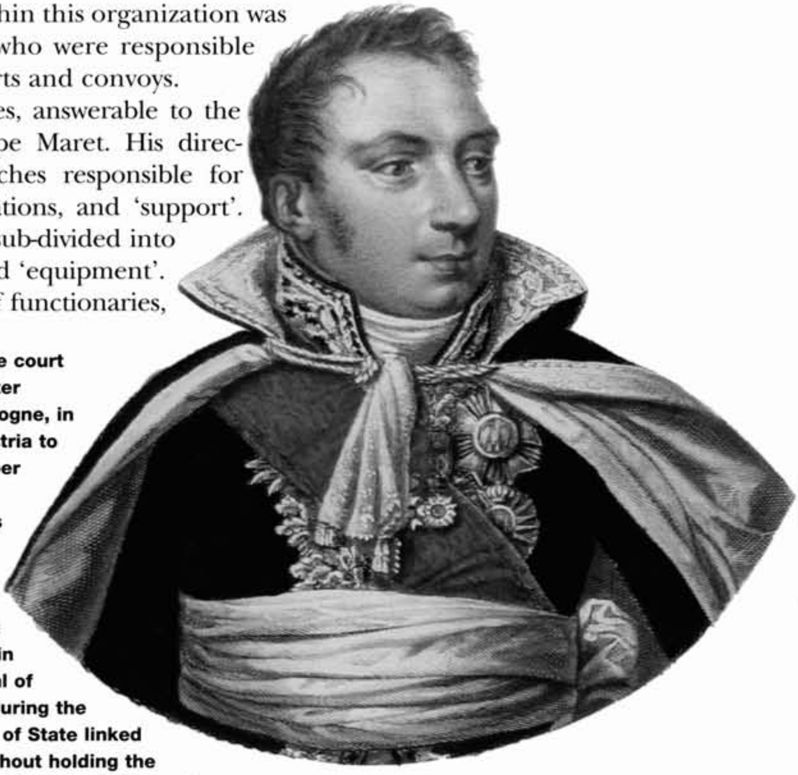
The **Commissaires des Guerres** were responsible for provisions and supplies of all kinds, including levying contributions from occupied countries; for ensuring the security of supply convoys, artillery trains and ambulances; for hospitals and prisons; and for the distribution of food, fodder, fuel, clothing and equipment, and all the accountancy associated with these transactions and deliveries:

Minister of War Administration
(Dejean, 1802–10; Lacuée, 1810–13; Daru, 1813–14 & 1815)
Intendant General of the Grande Armée
(Petiet, 1804–06; Villemanzy, 1806; Daru, 1806–12; Mathieu-Dumas, 1812–14; Daure, 1815)
Director General for Supplies
(Chief) Organizing Commissioners, departments of: Hospitals, Transport, Supplies & Rations, Support

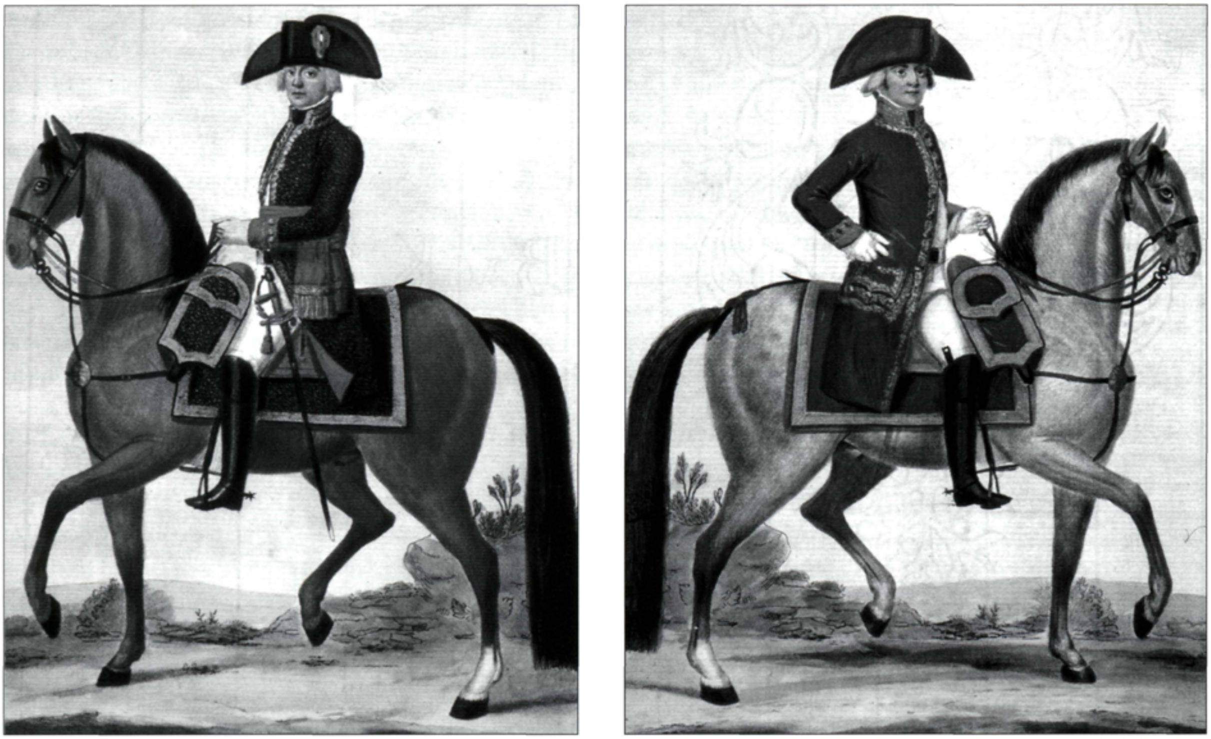
The only military department within this organization was the Gendarmes under Col Lauer, who were responsible for escorting and guarding transports and convoys.

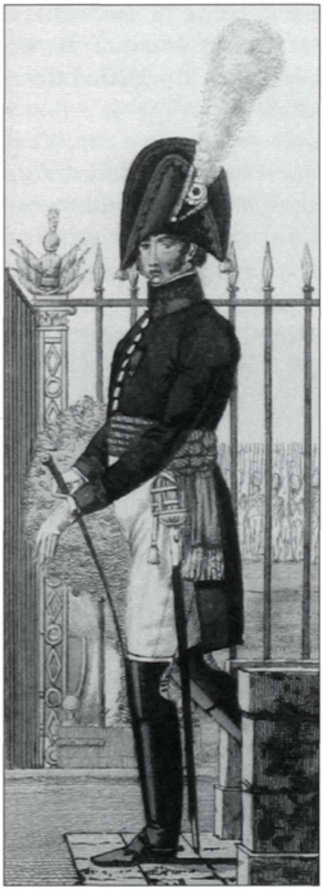
The Director General for Supplies, answerable to the Intendant General, was Jean-Philippe Maret. His directorate was divided into four branches responsible for hospitals, transport, supplies and rations, and 'support'. The supply department was further sub-divided into 'bread', 'meat' (*viandes*), 'fodder' and 'equipment'. Each branch included a hierarchy of functionaries,

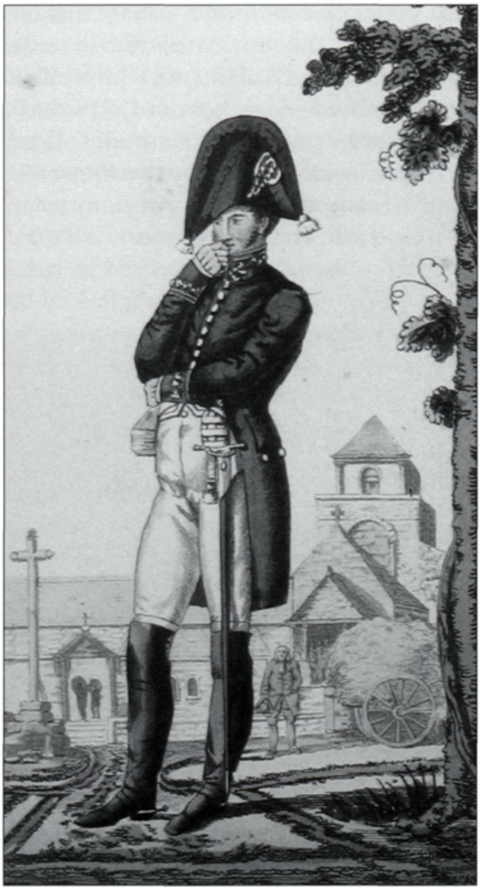
OPPOSITE, TOP LEFT ***Inspecteur en chef des revues*, by Hoffman. Full dress – blue coat with scarlet cuffs and turn-backs, the grade recognizable by silver embroidery round the base of the collar and down the front edge, a double row of silver embroidery on the blue collar and scarlet cuffs, and a scarlet and silver sash. The coat was dark blue mixed with one white thread in every eight, giving it a lighter appearance. (Ann S.K.Brown Collection, Providence, USA)**



Count P.A.N.B.Daru (1767–1829), in dark blue court uniform with silver embroidery and cape. After organizing the Grande Armée camps at Boulogne, in 1805 he was made Intendant General of Austria to recover war reparations for France. In October 1806 he became Intendant General of the Grande Armée. While the Grande Armée was being rebuilt in Germany in 1813 he acted as both Administrator General of the Army and Secretary of State, becoming Minister of War Administration on 20 November. Daru followed the Empress Marie-Louise to Blois in 1814; he was re-appointed Intendant General of the royal army under the First Restoration, during the Hundred Days he was confirmed as Minister of State linked to the Ministry of War Administration but without holding the Intendancy General. (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)







ABOVE **_Ordonnateur en chef_, by Hoffman. These four departmental chiefs served under the Director General of Supplies; they wore a blue coat with scarlet collar and cuffs, silver embroidery at the base of the collar and down the front, and double rows of embroidery on collar, cuffs and pockets. (Ann S.K.Brown Collection, Providence, USA)**

FAR LEFT **_Sous-inspecteur des revues_, by Martinet. Full dress – blue coat with silver front buttons, scarlet collar and cuffs with single rows of silver embroidery, and a green and silver sash. (Author's collection)**

LEFT **_Commissaire des guerres_ – a rare illustration of this type of functionary, from Martinet's contemporary series of uniforms of the Empire. Full dress sky-blue uniform with silver front buttons, the scarlet collar and cuffs with a single row of silver embroidery. (Author's collection)** ranking from Organizing Commissioner, Commissioners 1st and 2nd Class to Assistants and lowly Sub-Assistants, fulfilling the duties of directors, managers, cashiers, accountants, and three grades of clerks.

The more junior administrators tended to be less honest and conscientious, and their failings caused much misery to the troops on the march. Pay, food and fodder often failed to arrive; hospitals and all kinds of transport were insufficient. Even during the early years of victory the clothing and kit of the troops too often included improvised or requisitioned items, those taken from the dead and wounded for re-issue, and those stripped from prisoners of war.

NAPOLEON'S ENTOURAGE ON CAMPAIGN

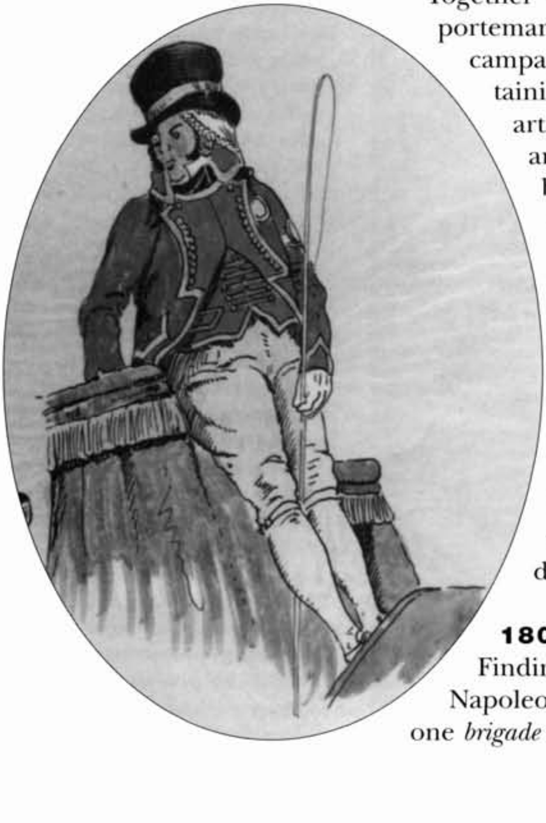
When Napoleon left France in September 1805 to fight the Third Coalition, he still went to war essentially in the way he had done for many years as a general, though now with more personal servants to look after his comfort.

By 1806 he had already enlarged his personal suite. Preparing for his next campaign, he wrote on 10 September from his palace at Saint-Cloud to the Grand Equerry to prepare 60 horses, of which eight would be for the Emperor's own use. He was to send them to the army, together with pack mules; mess canteens (chests of travelling tableware and pre-prepared food – often chicken – for re-heating in the field); a coach; and the horses of Marshal Bessières, Grand Marshal of the Palace Duroc, Caulaincourt himself, Gen Lemarois, an ADC, Prince Borghèse and Maréchal des Logis du Palais de Ségur.

Together with his telescopes, Caulaincourt was to pack the small portemanteaux that the Emperor had used during the Austerlitz campaign of the previous year. These small, handy boxes containing all necessary items for campaign life – e.g. toilet articles, etc. – could be carried on horseback by the grooms and pages who followed the Emperor. Wagons were also to be loaded, one to carry a tent and Napoleon's folding metal campaign bed. However, the Emperor was not sure whether he actually had a tent; if he did not, he asked his Grand Equerry to borrow one from the Emperor's sister Caroline Bonaparte, wife of Marshal Murat and future Queen of Naples. Caulaincourt was also to order without delay the manufacture of a sturdy tent and some thick carpets for use in it; the tent was to be of plain appearance, not one 'fit for an opera'. The Emperor's secretary Gen Clarke was to leave immediately for Mainz, as were the wagons of the topographical office and the baggage, but travelling by different roads.

1809: remounts and vehicles

Finding himself on a later occasion without fresh horses, Napoleon decreed on 29 April 1809 that there should always be one *brigade* of 12 saddled horses held ready for his suite by grooms;

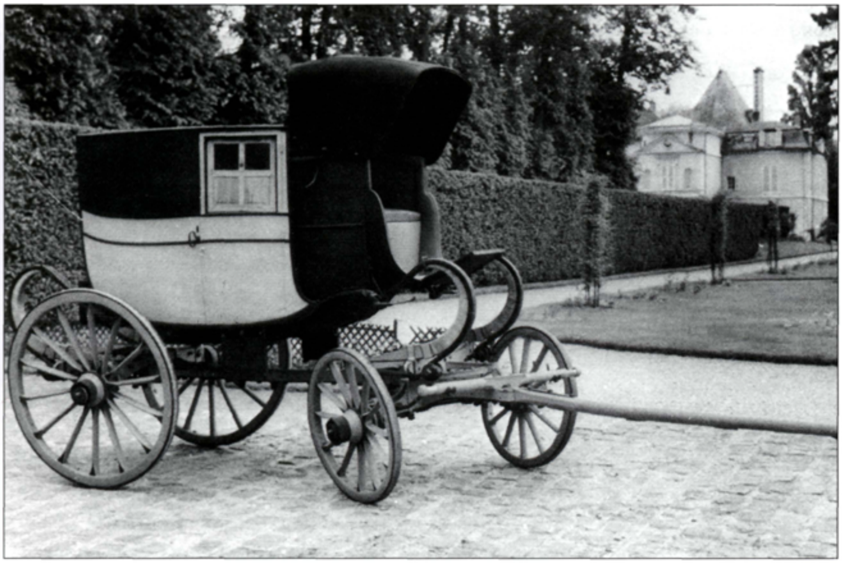


Coachman in imperial livery, by Job. Although Napoleon's carriages were normally driven by mounted postilions, the 'box' being occupied by his Mameluke and a valet or a Chasseur bodyguard, Job shows a typical early 19th century coachman's uniform, but in green instead of the dark blue worn by those driving postal coaches. Presumably this is a uniform worn during one of the Emperor's longer stays at a single location while on campaign, e.g. at Dresden during 1813, or by a coachman when he made state visits. The green coat has red collar, cuffs, pocket flaps, and waistcoat laced with gold, apparently with gilt badges on the left chest and sleeve; pale chamois breeches and white stockings, and a black hat with a gold band. The postilions wore the same uniform but with tall riding boots. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

the duty ADC was to indicate their location in accordance with the Emperor's itinerary. This would mean that a pool of ten brigades totalling 120 horses was to provide remounts along the roads for the Emperor (two chargers and one parade horse), and one horse each for the Grand Equerry, the duty equerry, the duty page, the duty surgeon, the *piqueur* and the Emperor's Mameluke, with three horses for grooms. Furthermore, each 'brigade' was supported by four small carts pulled by three-horse teams, which carried the suite's portemanteaux, blankets and spare harness. Before this decree a brigade had consisted of nine horses; the differences were that the Emperor now had three horses instead of one, three were provided for grooms instead of one, but the cabinet secretary was no longer included in the Emperor's immediate suite. The other court surgeon, the physician and pharmacist followed on horseback, with their surgical instruments and medical supplies in an ambulance pulled by mules under supervision of a wagon-master, together with a number of medical orderlies.

In the same decree of 1809 the Emperor reorganized the military trains of his staff and households for future campaigns. Of ten coaches, a *berline* and a *calèche* were for his personal use, each pulled by six horses or mules and driven by three postilions. (The *berline* was a large closed coach, the *calèche* – in English terms, a barouche – a carriage with a fold-down hood.) Two *berlines* were for the use of his suite, and three *calèches* would each carry four officers of the court and two servants; another three carriages were for his cabinet secretaries and clerks.

A further 12 vehicles were destined for the household servants: two *calèches* for the servants of the *chambre* (bedchamber), one carriage for the *garderobe* (the staff of the Master of the Wardrobe), four carriages and two supply wagons for the *bouche* (kitchen staff), two wagons for the Emperor's tents, and a *gondole* for the *valets à pied* (footmen) – this last was a large vehicle fitted with benches. For the department of the Grand Equerry there were to be an additional five wagons, two forges, and one carriage for farriers and workmen. All the coaches containing Napoleon's personal papers were to be provided with loaded firearms and were to travel in the



***Berline coupé* of the type used by the imperial households, on whose books it was registered as a *'dormeuse'*. It could be used for sleeping by opening a panel at right front and extending a leather tube for the legs under the box seat; it is 3.5m long, 1.1m wide and 2.4m high (11ft 6in x 3ft 7in x 7ft 9in). This vehicle – currently painted a yellowish beige – is not that captured in the traffic jam on the night of Waterloo by the Prussian Maj von Keller; that vehicle (No.389, abandoned by the Mameluke Ali and *Premier Piqueur* Thomas Archambault) was sold to the British government, displayed in London, and subsequently destroyed in a fire at Madame Tussaud's gallery in 1925. Confusingly, Napoleon himself referred to this type of coach as a *poste-chaise*. (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)**

middle of an Old Guard unit and under the watchful eye of an officer and a detachment of soldiers from the Foot Grenadiers. In total, 240 horses and mules divided into 40 teams (*equipages*) were reserved for the Emperor's military train, with an additional 40 horses reserved for the *piqueurs, brigadiers* and stable staff.

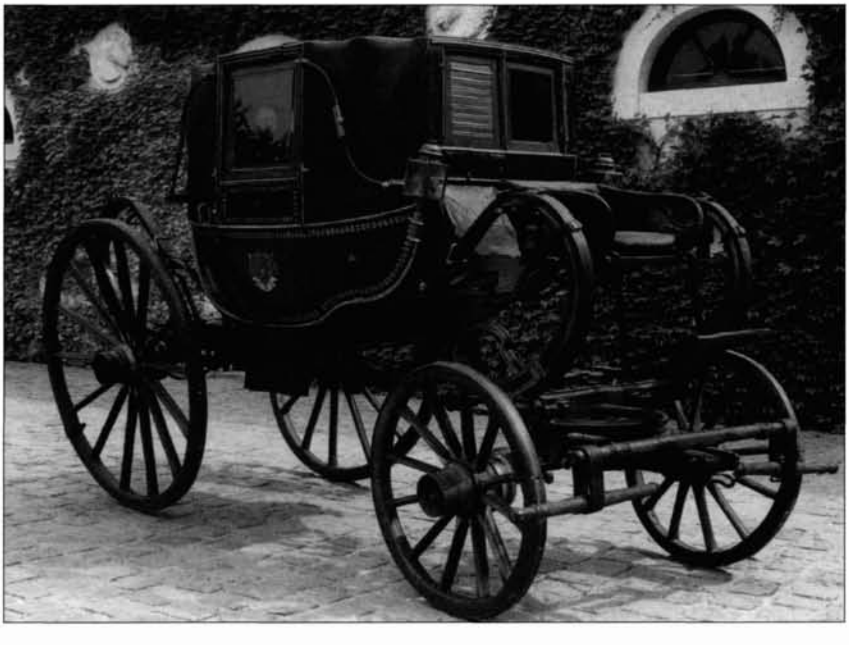
The decree also specified that two brigades composed of mules and horses (the 'light service') were to follow the Emperor when he was travelling light, following the army's vanguards. Nine mules were divided into three teams for carrying mess canteens, six were to carry two campaign beds for the Emperor, three would carry tents, and two were used as spares. This column was to be accompanied by one *valet de chambre* and one *maître d'hôtel* mounted on horses, two mounted cooks (one on a horse and one on a mule), and two each horsed *valets à pied* and grooms.

Napoleon's *landau* (No.301), ordered from the coachbuilder Gatting (Goeting) in January 1812 and delivered at Vilna in time to form part of the *'service léger'* in Russia. It has front and rear folding hoods which meet in the middle, and could be converted for sleeping in the same way as the *dormeuse*. Although altered inside, and with various missing fitments replaced, its external finish is close to the original appearance: ox-blood paintwork with silvered fittings, gold freize borders and full colour imperial coats of arms. Abandoned by the valet Marchand on 18 June 1815, this coach too was acquired by the opportunistic Maj von Keller; without mentioning the *dormeuse* which he had already set on the road to his home, he presented the *landau* to Marshal Blücher, whose family returned it to the museum at Malmaison in 1975. (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)

Russia 1812

Early in 1812 Napoleon was on the verge of his most challenging campaign. Based on his experiences from the Polish campaign of 1807, which had found him marching through poor country with bad roads and practically no supplies, he started reorganizing his households, and asked Caulaincourt and Berthier to work out a decree regarding their composition and means of transport. As Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, suzerain of most European states, and the dominant partner in alliances with Austria and Prussia, Napoleon would go to war in a style befitting an Emperor of the West.

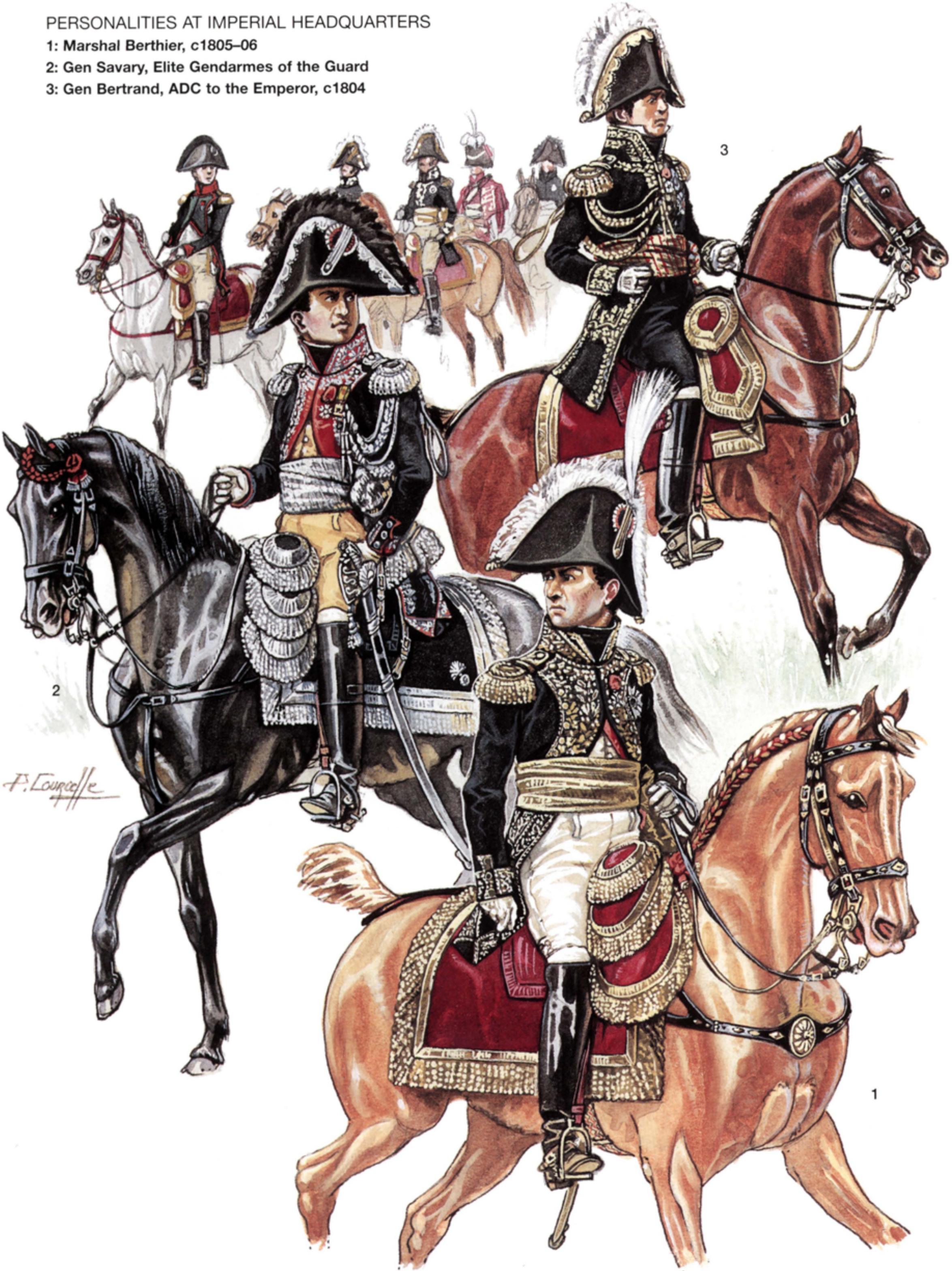
Besides logistical problems he faced difficulties of command and communications; 600,000 men could not be manoeuvred as easily as 60,000. Yet the Emperor was insistent that his orders should be executed as promptly as ever, regardless of the distances between the general headquarters and the vanguard, the army corps or smaller detachments.



Berthier's staff still retained its former organization, however, and many of its old personalities. Salamon, Le Duc, Dufresne and Guillabert were the faithful members of the Major-General's secretariat; the younger Denniée (*fils*) was chief of administration; Count Bailly de Monthion headed the general staff; Sanson was still in charge of the topographical section, Joinville was the chief paymaster, Guilleminot was headquarters commandant, and Gen Girardin was Berthier's personal ADC. Daru was *(continued on page 41)*

PERSONALITIES AT IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS

1: Marshal Berthier, c1805–06
2: Gen Savary, Elite Gendarmes of the Guard
3: Gen Bertrand, ADC to the Emperor, c1804



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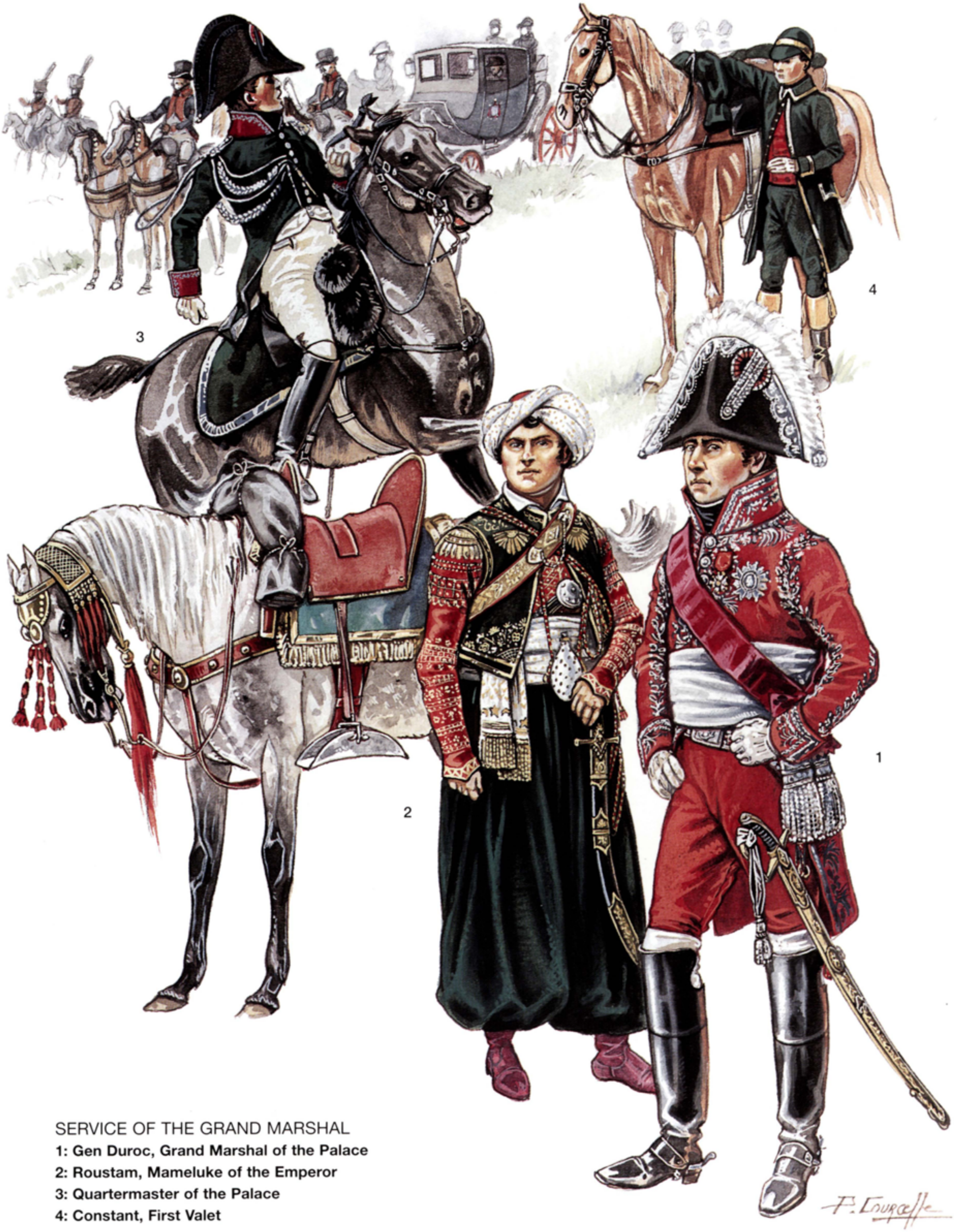


SERVICE OF THE GRAND MARSHAL
1: Gen Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace
2: Roustam, Mameluke of the Emperor
3: Quartermaster of the Palace
4: Constant, First Valet

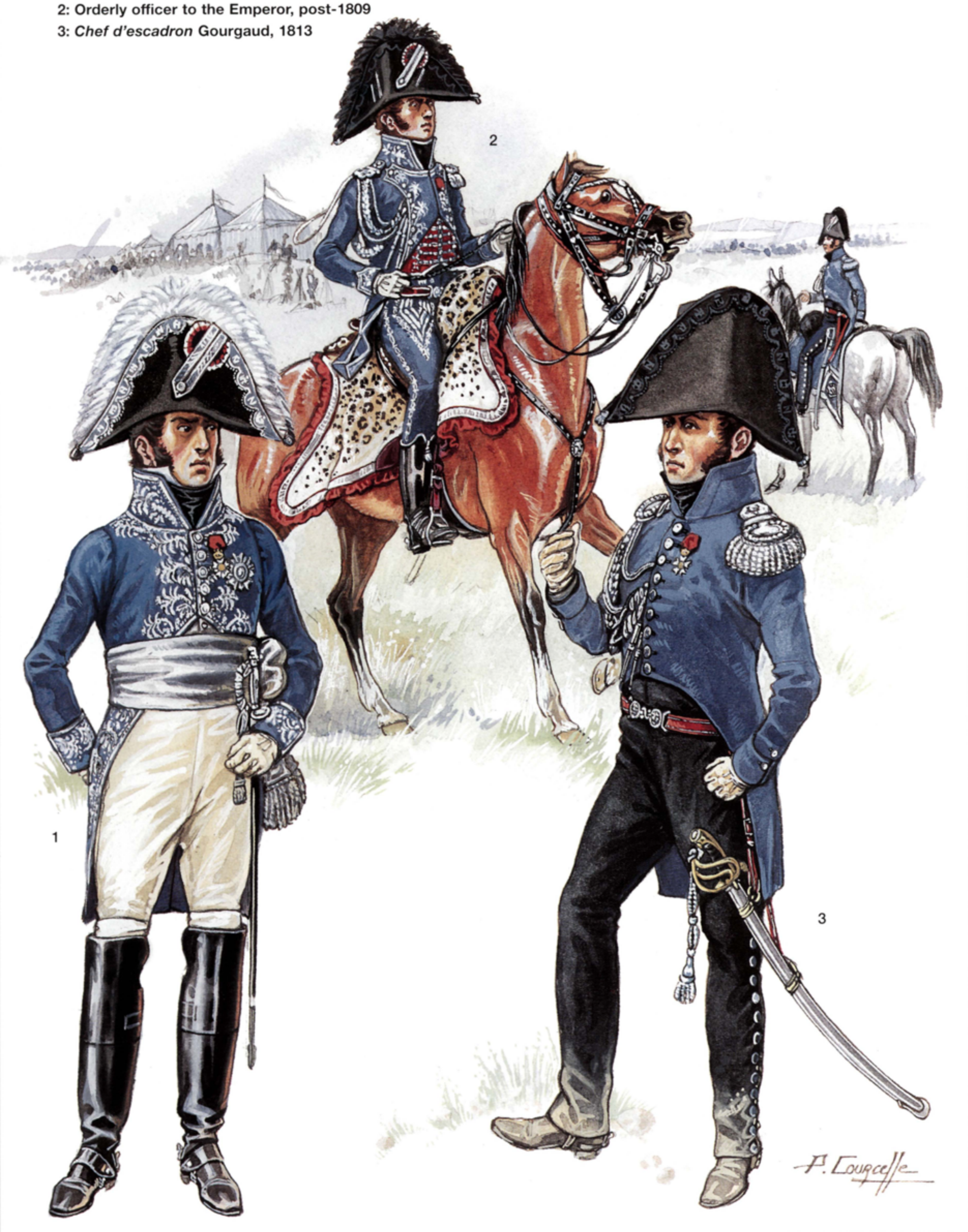
B

SERVICE OF THE GRAND EQUERRY

1: Gen de Caulaincourt, Grand Equerry

2: Orderly officer to the Emperor, post-1809

3: *Chef d'escadron* Gourgaud, 1813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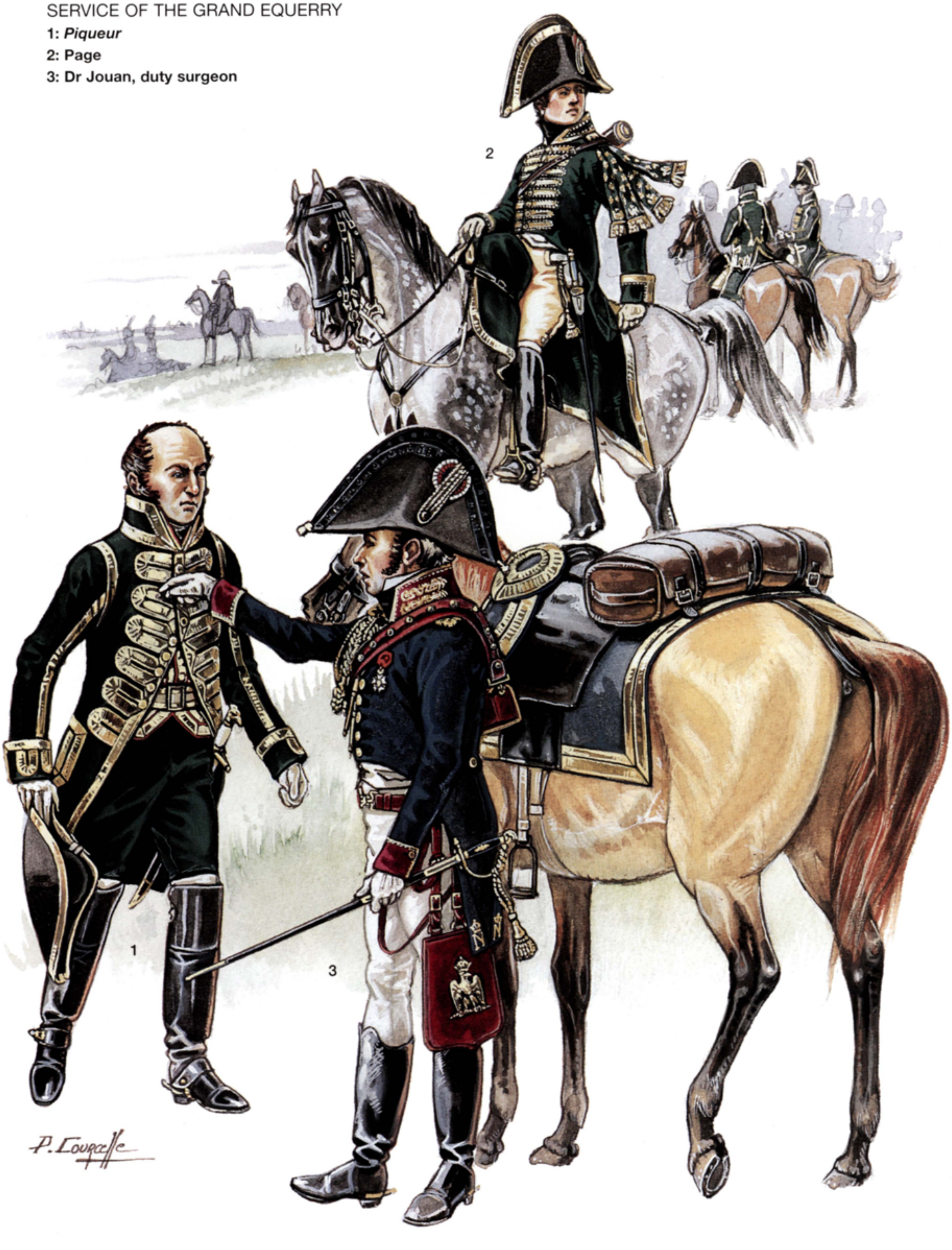
SERVICE OF THE GRAND EQUERRY

1: ***Piqueur***

2: Page

3: Dr Jouan, duty surgeon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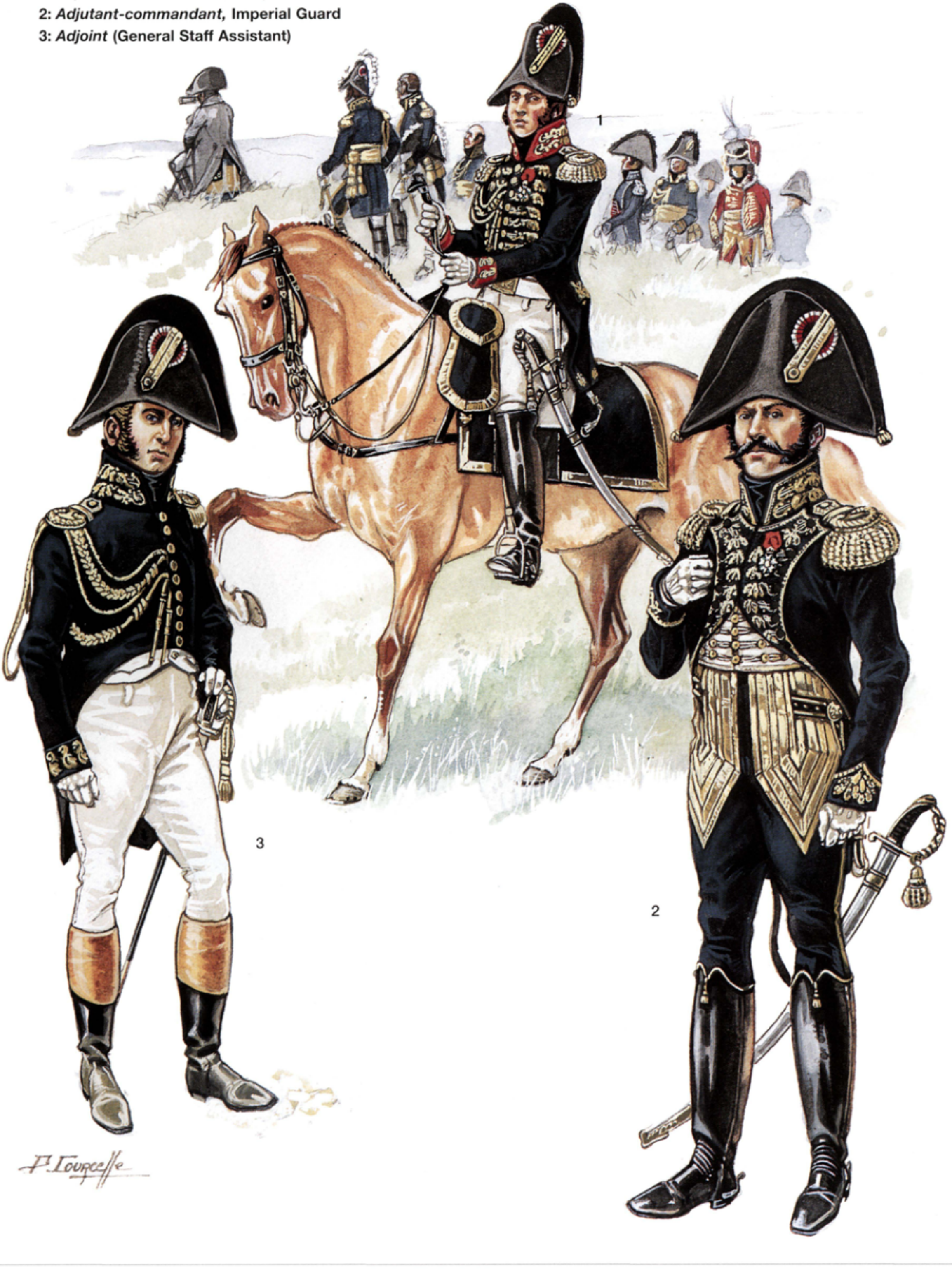
D

STAFF OFFICERS

1: *Adjutant-commandant,* **Army General HQ**

2: *Adjutant-commandant,* **Imperial Guard**

3: *Adjoint* **(General Staff Assistant)**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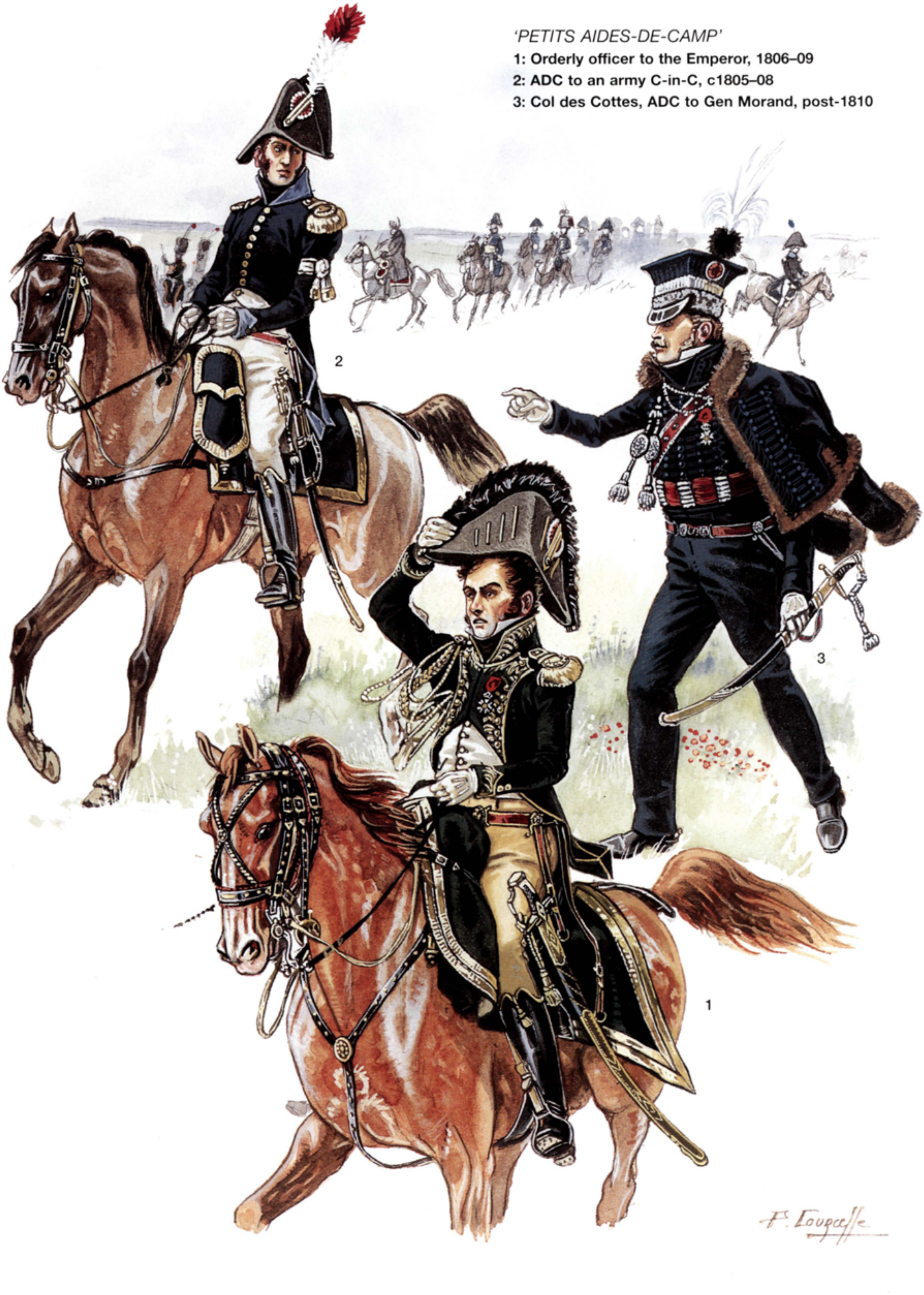
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'PETITS AIDES-DE-CAMP'

1: Orderly officer to the Emperor, 1806–09
2: ADC to an army C-in-C, c1805–08
3: Col des Cottes, ADC to Gen Morand, post-1810

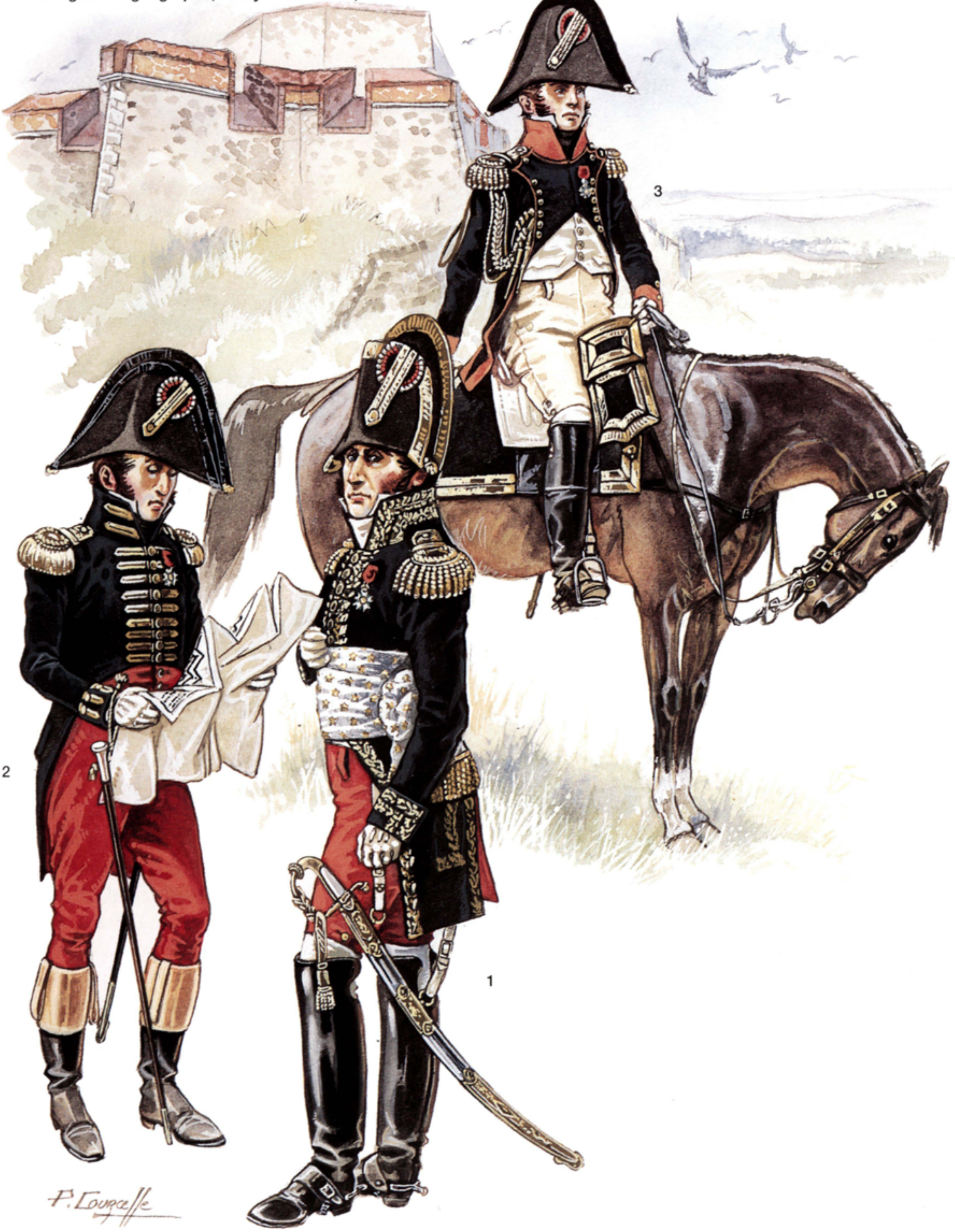
F

GARRISON & TECHNICAL OFFICERS

1: ***Governeur de place,* c1810**

2: ***Capitaine-adjutant de place***

3: ***Ingénieur-géographe,* Army General HQ, c1810**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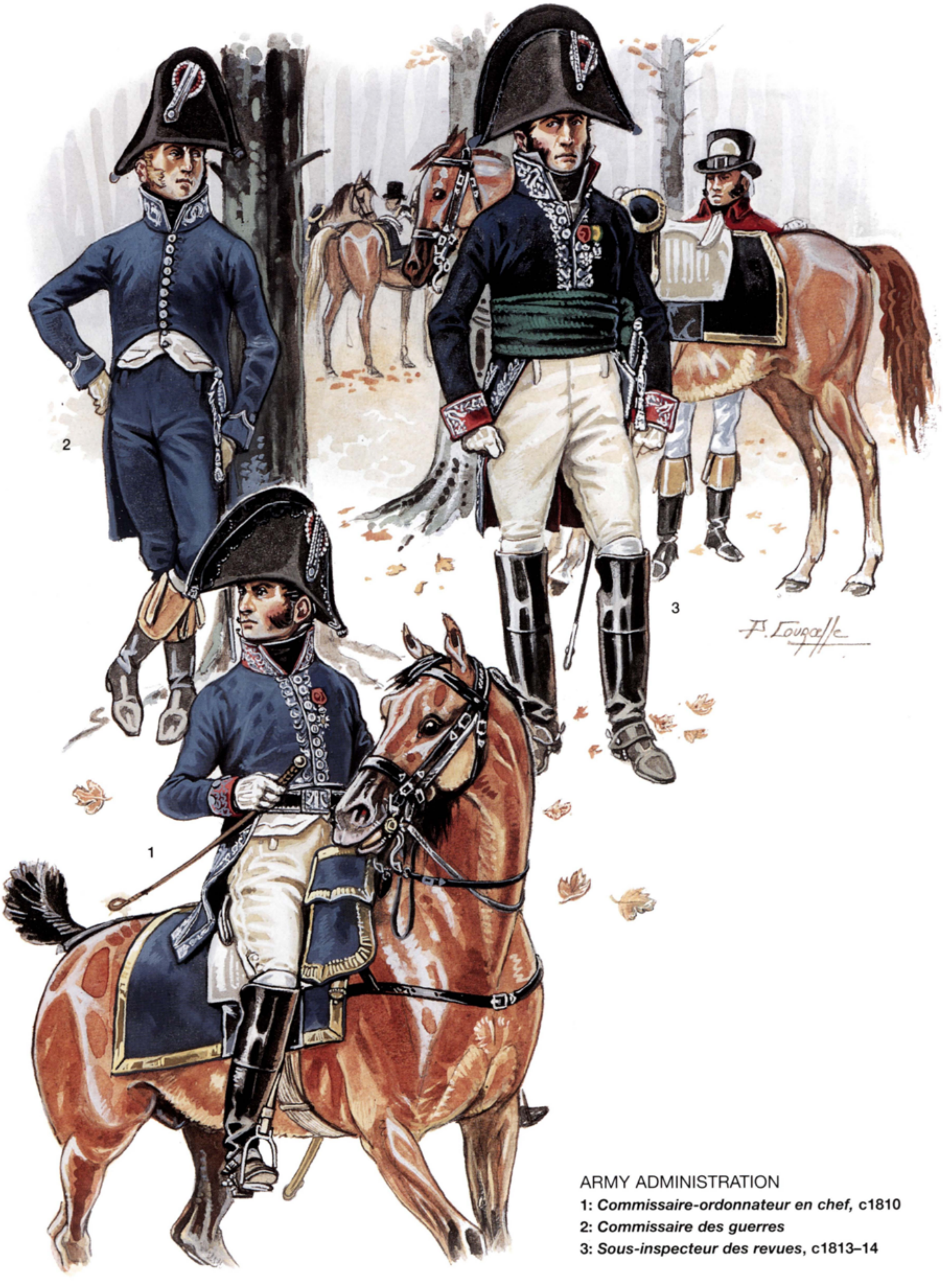
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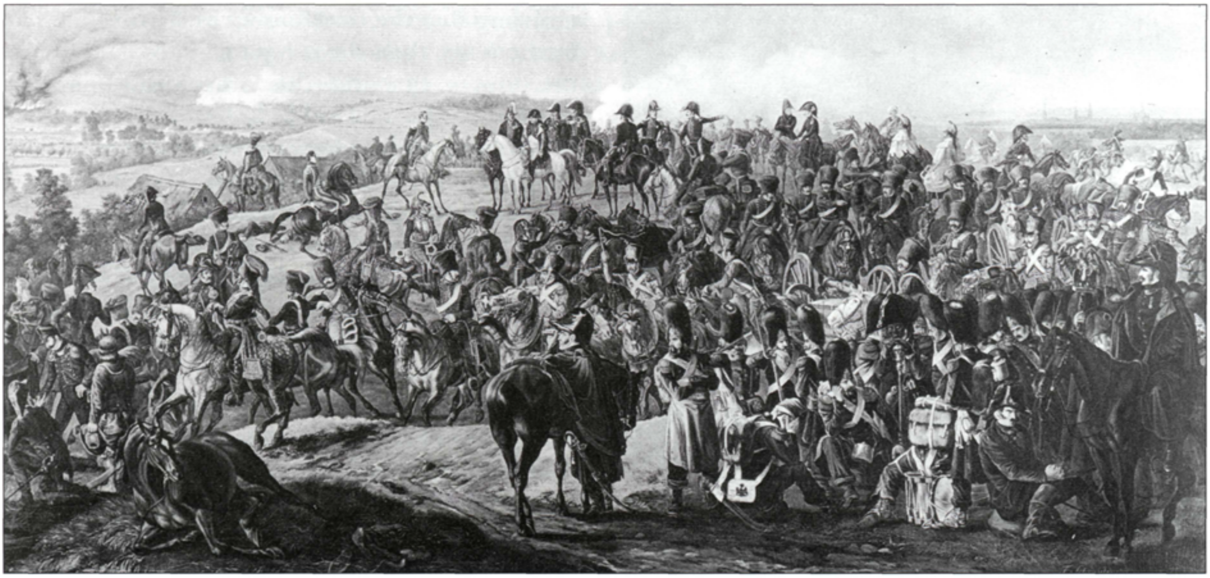
ARMY ADMINISTRATION

1: *Commissaire-ordonnateur en chef,* c1810

2: *Commissaire des guerres*

3: *Sous-inspecteur des revues,* c1813–14

H



Napoleon at the battle of Dresden, 27 August 1813, surrounded by his staff and (left and right) the picquet of Mounted Chasseurs. Left of the Emperor note two of his orderly officers, bareheaded, and in the far right background of the group his Mameluke, Roustam. Among the Foot Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard (right foreground), note a black drum-major. (Author's collection)

now secretary to the Emperor's Cabinet, so his place as Intendant General was taken by one of Berthier's oldest comrades-in-arms, Gen Mathieu-Dumas, who was in charge of the rear headquarters. An interesting newcomer was the Swiss-born Baron Jomini, who had been commissioned by Napoleon as head of the recently constituted historical section of the general staff.

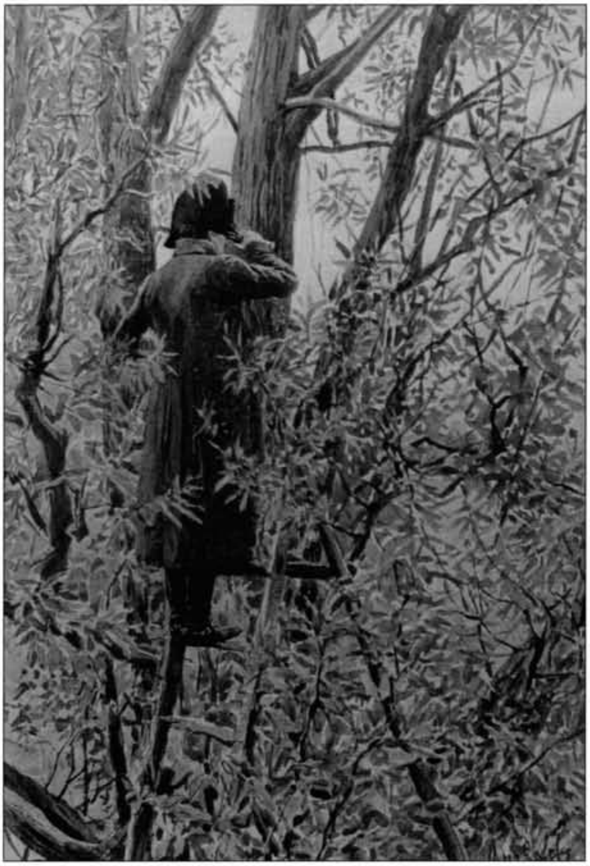
With an army of more than half a million men travelling over a crowded and primitive road system, the swift movement of the large Imperial Headquarters would be hampered. For this reason the Emperor's suite was reorganized into four different, flexible sections, all under the supervision of the Grand Equerry and escorted by the Gendarmes d'élite of the Imperial Guard. These four different trains were formed up and started moving eastwards; oddly, the painted imperial coats of arms were hidden behind canvas so that they could travel 'incognito', but the postilions, grooms and servants all wore their green and gold imperial livery. The four *services* or *equipages* were as follows:

Service léger	(light train)
Service d'expédition	(field train)
Gros bagages	(heavy baggage train)
Équipages de selle	(reserve of saddle horses)

The *service léger,* commanded by a wagon-master who was a former army officer, was organized to follow the Emperor and his immediate suite ('small headquarters') when they were marching behind the vanguard of the army. It now had 76 horses and mules to carry or pull all the basics needed to feed and shelter the staff of the *petit quartier général,* e.g. tents, campaign beds, office equipment, pharmacy, canteens, four small field forges, and two light carts containing four days' provisions of 800 rations of biscuits each for the households. The personnel consisted of two *brigadiers,* three *maîtres d'hôtel,* three cooks, two *valets de chambre,* four footmen, eight grooms and two saddlers or farriers, all mounted on 24 mules or horses. In case anything interfered with or delayed the normal procedures, priority was to be given to ensuring that the canteens arrived first, followed by the tents, then the campaign beds, and finally the mules carrying the other indispensable objects.

The *service d'expédition* was created to transport the Emperor's Cabinet and staff, plus all necessary equipment to install and feed them while they settled down to await the arrival of the heavy baggage train. It contained light carriages for the Emperor and his suite, the imperial tents, the bureaux of the general staff, and part of the Emperor's Cabinet. The 26 carriages and other transports for his personal servants, kitchen staff and ambulance were drawn by 160 horses. This column also included five heavy wagons carrying tents and more campaign furniture, plus 1,000 rations of biscuits, rice and eau de vie (brandy). Four more carried bread, vegetables, wine, office furniture, silverware, linen, torches and four days' rations (2,000 biscuits) for the households; these, together with the rations carried by the 'light train', would total 12 days' rations. The field train was completed by another wagon for portemanteaux, one for spare parts for the horse tack and vehicles, two forges and two smaller supply carts.

The *gros bagages* or heavy baggage train was composed of 24 vehicles with 240 horses. It followed the army at a distance, and included the Emperor's large travelling *berline* or *'dormeuse'* – the coach that he used to cover long distances, which was fitted out as a travelling office and bedroom – and a lighter spare carriage. The other coaches were used by members of his suite, cabinet secretaries, clerks, staff officers, craftsmen, etc. Several wagons transported kitchen provisions, silverware, linen, portemanteaux, and spare parts and harness. The heavy train also carried all the paperwork of the State Secretariat, the Major-General and the different depots, together with much else that would otherwise hamper the advance but would be needed when the Imperial Headquarters settled in one place for a longer period. It also served as a place of refuge for sick or wounded members of the different staffs, cabinets and households.



Napoleon on campaign. To observe the enemy in person he often used 'elevated' means – this might be a convenient mill tower, a constructed observation post, or simply a ladder such as he used in 1809. (Author's collection)

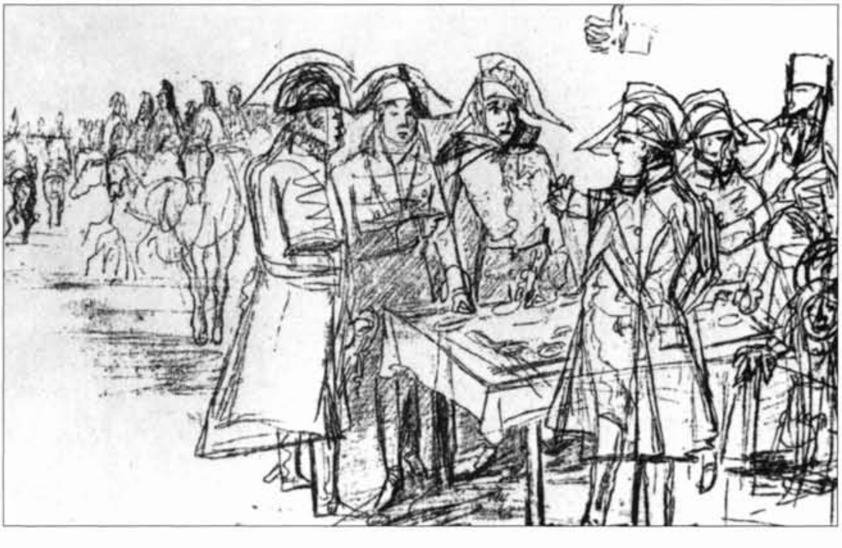
Napoleon always insisted that his households and staffs should be self-sufficient in food provisions, and he ordered that when necessary, most of the supply wagons that followed the Emperor's military or civil train could be allocated to carry provisions. Uniting most of them for this purpose would make a convoy of 16 wagons to transport bread, rice, biscuits and eau de vie – a month's rations for 600 men. In all, the three *services* (light, field, and heavy baggage) required some 500 horses or mules, and another 24 were kept in reserve at a depot. The paperwork of the palace accountancy reveals dozens of summaries of expenses during the Russian campaign. These show us that from the moment the Emperor's households began travelling through Germany, Poland and deep into Russia, they hired local peasants and their transport to carry forage and fodder for the staffs and households.

The *équipages de selle* were still organized as in 1809, but the 'brigades' consisted of 13 horses each – one horse was now provided for a local guide. The ten brigades were spread along the Emperor's route each under the supervision of a *piqueur* and guarded by an escort detachment. These escorts, known as *picquets*, each consisted of an officer and 20 Mounted Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard, taken from the 'duty squadron' of that regiment and regularly relieved.

Napoleon's immediate entourage

The picquet of an officer and 20 Chasseurs who served as the close escort to the Emperor never let him out of their sight. When the Emperor dismounted for any reason – even to answer a call of nature – four of the Chasseurs would also dismount, fix bayonets, and place themselves in a square around the Emperor presenting arms.

The new decree of 1812 also stipulated the organization and functions of the Emperor's immediate suite. The duty page was to carry Napoleon's telescope in a cylindrical leather case slung over his shoulder. He also carried at the front of his saddle a leather bag containing a handkerchief, a pair of gloves, a small quantity of paper, quill pens, ink, pencil, compass and 'Spanish wax' (for sealing despatches). At the back of his saddle he carried a small portemanteau with a selection of weapons. The Emperor's personal surgeon Yvan carried at the back of his saddle a portemanteau containing a carefully selected set of instruments, bandages, etc. The Mameluke Roustam (or in 1815, Ali) carried slung from his shoulder a flask containing eau de vie, at the front of his saddle the Emperor's grey coat, and behind him a spare one. The *piqueur* was to carry two leather bags containing mess canteens with provisions, a portemanteau containing personal effects, plus another flask of brandy. Two mounted valets were to carry water, salt, half a bottle of Madeira wine, ether, and some supplementary surgical instruments; the three mounted *maîtres d'hôtel* each carried a similar mess canteen to the *piqueur*'s.



Sunday, 6 February 1814, near Troyes – after an original drawing by Grenadier Pils. The Emperor invited Marshals Berthier, Ney and Oudinot to eat with him, and had a table set out on the muddy ground between a wall and a ditch. Lunch was eaten while standing and discussing. In the background note what seems to be a duty squadron of mounted Dragoons of the Imperial Guard. In the right hand corner we can just see a valet opening a box, probably a *nécéssaire* containing the table service. (*Journal de Marche du Grenadier Pils, 1804–14*)

The duty ADC had to ensure that a leather shoulder bag containing maps of the region, a small writing kit and compass was carried by a strong, specially chosen trooper of the Chasseurs escort picquet, known as the *chasseur de portefeuille.* It was the duty equerry's responsibility to see that the page, Mameluke, surgeons and others carried the necessary portemanteaux with them; and each remount brigade was equipped with a similar set of portemanteaux. The equerry also saw to it that there was a local guide available, under the watchful eye of the commander of the escort picquet.

When they rode out, Napoleon and Marshal Berthier would be surrounded by what was known as the *petit quartier général* ('small headquarters'). This advance party or battle staff consisted only of the personal suite, some members of the administrative sections and a selected group of staff officers. The rest of the Imperial Headquarters followed, but sometimes several days' march behind and even separated at several locations. The rear echelon would move under the supervision of a senior officer of the Gendarmerie.

When the Emperor was in the face of the enemy or at the head of his army and followed by his complete staffs, he was accompanied only by the members of his 'brigade', his escort picquet, the Major-General and one of his ADCs, superior officers of the different branches of the general staff, the Grand Marshal of the Palace, two ADCs and two orderly officers of the Emperor. The others would form a second group following the Emperor at some distance to the right, together with another brigade of saddle horses for the Emperor and his suite. The other ADCs of Marshal Berthier and officers of his staff would form a third group, following behind and to the left. All other staff personnel followed in a fourth group behind the first three.

Following the Emperor and the officers authorized to ride with him came the *escadrons de service* – four duty squadrons, one from each cavalry regiment of the Imperial Guard: Chasseurs à cheval, Polish Lancers, Dragoons and Mounted Grenadiers, all commanded by the duty ADC. Following them at a distance was a wheeled ambulance carrying all necessary instruments and supplies for treatment.

OPPOSITE **After Vernet: the *chasseur de portefeuille* – the Guard Mounted Chasseur trooper selected to carry the slung leather bag containing the Emperor's maps. The Chasseur gave the maps to the Grand Equerry or the duty ADC, who passed them to the Emperor. (Author's collection)**

All the trains of the army general staff were gathered under the command of the *chef de bataillon vaguemestre général* (Wagonmaster General). Escorted by Gendarmes of the Guard, they always followed a line division in the column of march.

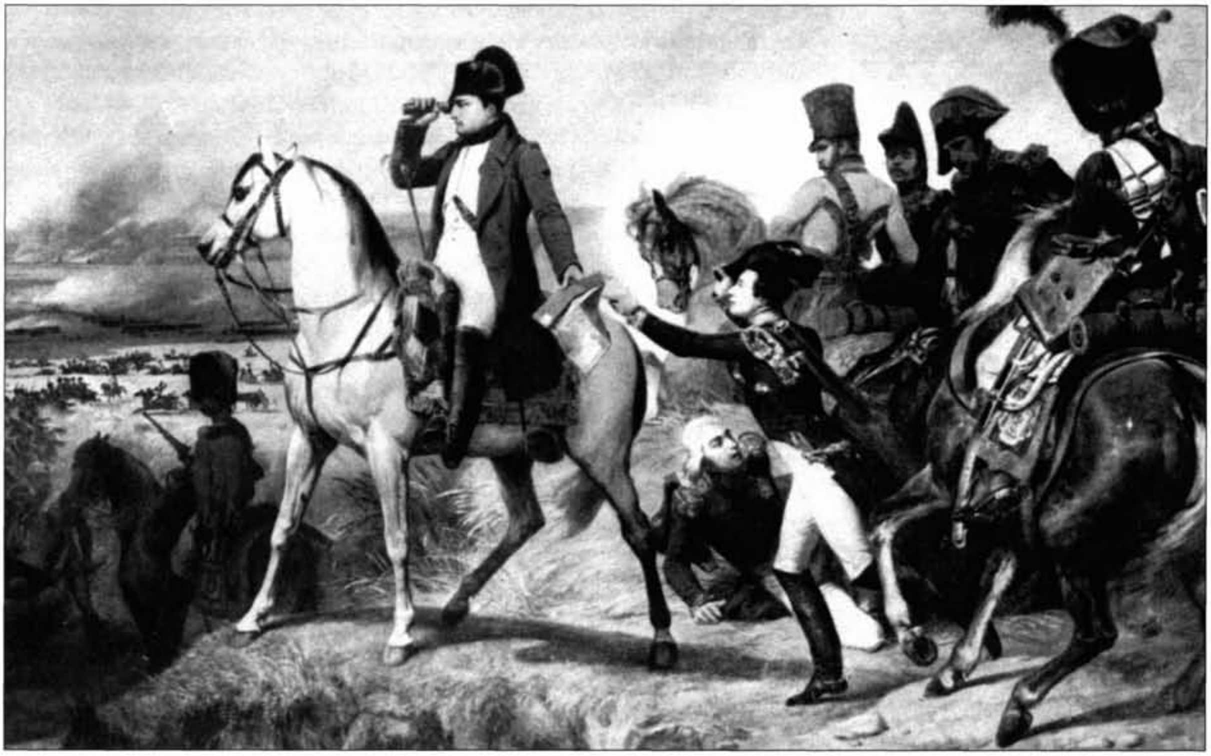
Billets

The *palais impérial* was whatever place in which the Emperor stayed – whether a palace or a hut – and most of the time he only used it to sleep and change his clothes. The Emperor always invited members of his headquarters and households to join his table, and all necessary local purchases were paid for in cash. When staying in cities the Emperor would normally be billeted at the prefecture or the most comfortable house in town. Napoleon's snobbish valet Constant recalled in his memoirs:

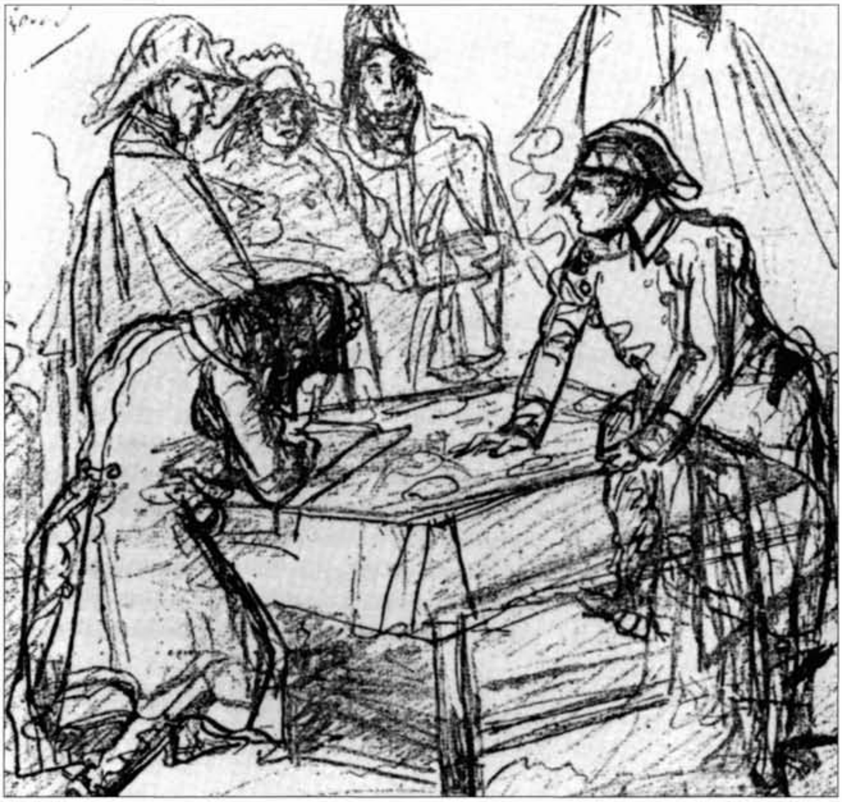
'During the whole Russian campaign the Emperor was usually very badly lodged. We had to comply with necessity. It was a trifle hard, to be sure, for people who had nearly always lived in palaces. The Emperor resigned himself to it courageously, and consequently all the rest followed suit. Because of the Russian policy of 'scorched earth', the wealthy – when retiring further into the interior – would only abandon their houses to the enemy in ruins... All along the road leading to Moscow (only excepting certain important towns) the accommodation was wretched enough.

'After long and fatiguing marches we thought ourselves very lucky if we found a hovel in the place indicated by the Emperor for headquarters. When quitting these miserable holes their owners would sometimes leave two or three poor seats and wooden bedsteads,

Napoleon with his staff at Wagram in 1809, after Vernet. Left of the Emperor, note one of his escort picquet of Mounted Chasseurs with carbine braced on his hip. Behind Napoleon, Marshal Bessières' horse has been killed; in the foreground, the page carrying the Emperor's telescope case hands him a map glued on linen. The other figures include an orderly officer, an ADC to Marshal Berthier, and the *chasseur de portefeuille*. (Author's collection)



From another original drawing by Grenadier Pils: on 26 January 1814 the Emperor and some of his marshals confer at the headquarters at Vitry-le-François. The Emperor had a large map of France by Cassini spread out on a table and sat on one of its corners, while Marshal Berthier sat down to write Napoleon's orders. All the figures wear double-breasted greatcoats or capes against the winter weather. (*Journal de Marche du Grenadier Pils, 1804–14*)



swarming with the vermin which no invasion frightens. The least dirty room was taken when it fortunately proved to be the best ventilated. When the cold weather came, draughts never failed us. When the place was selected and it was decided to remain there, a carpet was laid on the floor. The Emperor's bed was set up. On a wretched table was placed the open dressing case containing whatever might be agreeable or useful in a bedroom. The dressing case included a breakfast service for several persons. All this luxury was displayed whenever the Emperor invited his marshals.

'There was no choice but to lower oneself to the ways of small provincial burghers. If the house had two rooms, one served both as bedroom and dining room, and the other was taken for His Majesty's cabinet. The chest of books, the geographical charts, the portfolio, and a table covered with a green cloth were all the furniture. This was the council chamber. It was from these beggars' hovels that were issued those prompt and trenchant decisions which changed an order of battle and often the fortune of a day; those vivid and energetic proclamations which so quickly reanimated the discouraged army. When our apartment comprised three rooms – an extreme rarity – then the third was given to the Prince of Neuchâtel [Berthier], who always slept as near by as was possible.

'We often found old worm-eaten furniture of odd shapes in these wretched habitations, and little images of saints in wood or plaster which the proprietors had left behind. But usually we found poor people in these dwellings; having nothing to save from conquest, they stayed where they were. These good people appeared much ashamed at receiving the Emperor of the French so badly. They gave what they had, and we thought none the worse of them. More poor people than rich ones in Russia have received the Emperor in their houses.

'M. de Beausset gave me a very droll account of one of these nights when, lying pell-mell in very narrow quarters on a little straw, the aides-de-camp summoned to the Emperor would trample mercilessly over the legs of their sleeping companions… the rest had not the pains of gout from which M. de Beausset was suffering… He cried out in a doleful voice: "It is butchery, then!", and drew his legs up under him, skulking in his corner until the comings and goings should cease for a time.'

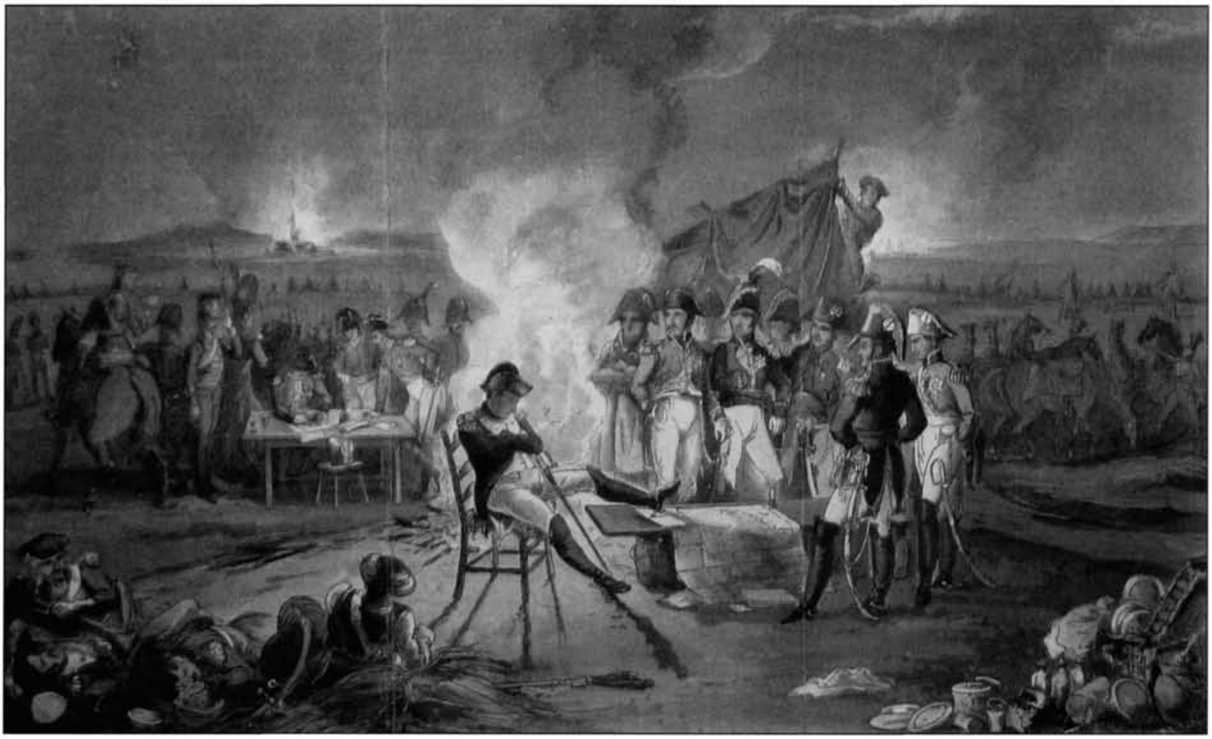
The Imperial tented camp

This was a new idea in 1812. When the Imperial Headquarters found no suitable houses, then a tented camp was erected. The Emperor's tent consisted of a 'first salon', a 'second salon', the 'cabinet' and a bedroom, and was carried in a single wagon. There was another tent for the Grand Officers, one for the Emperor's ADCs, one for his orderly officers, three for the *maréchaux des logis, fourriers* and secretaries of the Emperor, and one for the remaining services – eight tents in all. Marshal Berthier had his camp pitched some 300 yards from the Emperor's tent, and there he gathered all the officers and functionaries of his general headquarters. The baggage of the general staff and the different transports attached to his command were guarded by the 'headquarters elite company' (see below) and by two infantry battalions attached to the general staff.

The camps were set up with the help of the *maréchaux des logis, fourriers,* sappers of the Imperial Guard, and a detachment of the Gendarmerie d'élite marching with the imperial entourage as escorts. The Emperor's camp was built on a rectangular site of about 200 by 400 yards. The Imperial Guard would line it, leaving two entrances: one in front of the Emperor's tents, and one in the back for the different services. At night these two 'gates' were lighted by two large lanterns each (as were the main tent entrances), and it was forbidden to enter the campsite except by the two entrances. The Grand Marshal had overall control of the site, with a senior officer under his command to look after the policing and all details of the services inside the camp.

Napoleon's campaign furniture included folding tables and chairs for his secretaries, a folding armchair upholstered in red leather for the Emperor, and two folding campstools. This furniture, much of it the work of the famous maker Jacob-Desmalter, followed the Emperor throughout Europe; all the pieces fitted into leather covers and could be carried by mules. The folding campstools, chairs and tables could be hooked together once they had been set up so that the Emperor could spread out his maps. The bedroom of Napoleon's tent was furnished with a leopardskin-pattern carpet, and a folding metal campaign bed of a type that he had adopted during the Consulate. There were several models which could be transported on the back of a mule, and larger models, which had a green silk canopy, were transported on wagons; the beds were made mainly by the locksmith Desouches.

A mess canteen was always kept ready for when the Emperor rode out, and was inspected every evening by the duty ADC. Next to this, day



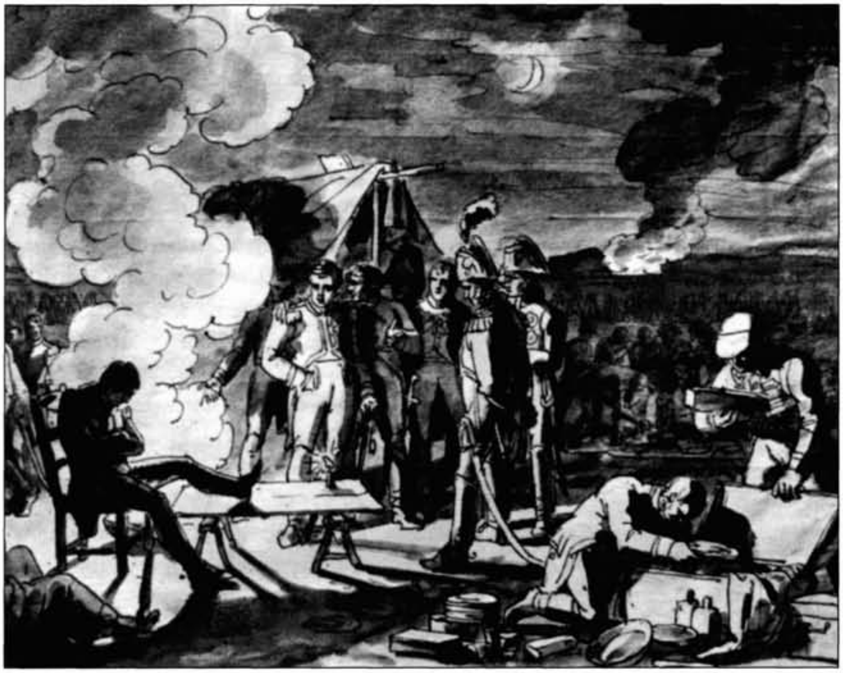
Napoleon's bivouac. This scene is sometimes identified as a camp in Spain or at Austerlitz; in fact it depicts that on the battlefield of Wagram, 5/6 July 1809, represented by the painter A.E.G.Roehn but reproduced in several variations. In the left background Berthier sits at a table writing down the Emperor's orders. Napoleon had called for whatever chair was to be found, and snatched some sleep between 1am and 3am – sometimes he needed only a few minutes to regain his energy. In the right hand corner are provisions for the head-quarters staff; on the left, the mameluke and other members of the Civil Household rest on bundles of straw. (Author's collection)

and night, a large kettle with soup would be kept hot over a fire for the Emperor and his household.

The security of the camp was entrusted to the Élite Gendarmerie of the Guard, and to a duty infantry battalion of the Guard whose muskets were kept loaded at all times. Another Gendarmerie detachment and a full cavalry squadron, commanded by the duty colonel-general or in his absence by the Grand Equerry, would always be ready to escort the Emperor on the move. Their horses were kept saddled and placed behind those of the Emperor and his staff; one duty squadron always mounted an hour before sunrise and only dismounted at sunset.

Every night one ADC and half the number of orderly officers and pages were on duty. The ADC would be on call in the second salon of the Emperor's tent, and the orderly officers and pages in the first salon, together with the officer commanding the escort detachment. An equerry was also on duty, together with a number of *piqueurs,* and all their horses would be kept bridled and saddled. Once more, Napoleon's valet Constant describes the scene:

'When we found no houses on the route, we put up the Emperor's tent. It was divided into three rooms by curtains, so as to contrive several apartments. In one the Emperor slept, in the second was his cabinet, in the third his aides-de-camp and chief attendants were accommodated. In this room the Emperor usually ate his meals, which were prepared outside. I alone slept in the chamber. Roustam, who followed His Majesty on horseback when he went out, slept in the corridors of the tent, so as not to be interrupted… The secretaries slept either in the cabinet or the corridors. The great officers and chief attendants ate where and as they could – like common soldiers, they had no scruples about taking a snack whenever they could get it.



Detail of a study of the same incident, but by Benjamin Six. On the right are valets – note the 'jockey cap' – packing, or unloading, the chests containing all the necessities for the Emperor's comfort in camp. (Author's collection)

'For my part, so long as the campaign lasted, I never once undressed myself to go to bed, for we found [no beds] anywhere. Something had to be substituted in their place… [and] necessity is never at a loss for invention. This is how we supplied for this defect in our furnishings: we had great bags of coarse canvas made, in which we enveloped ourselves completely, and then threw ourselves down upon a little straw, when we were so lucky as to find any. It was in this manner that I took a little repose during the night for several months together; and… I several times passed five or six nights without being able to avail myself [even of that], my service being continual.'

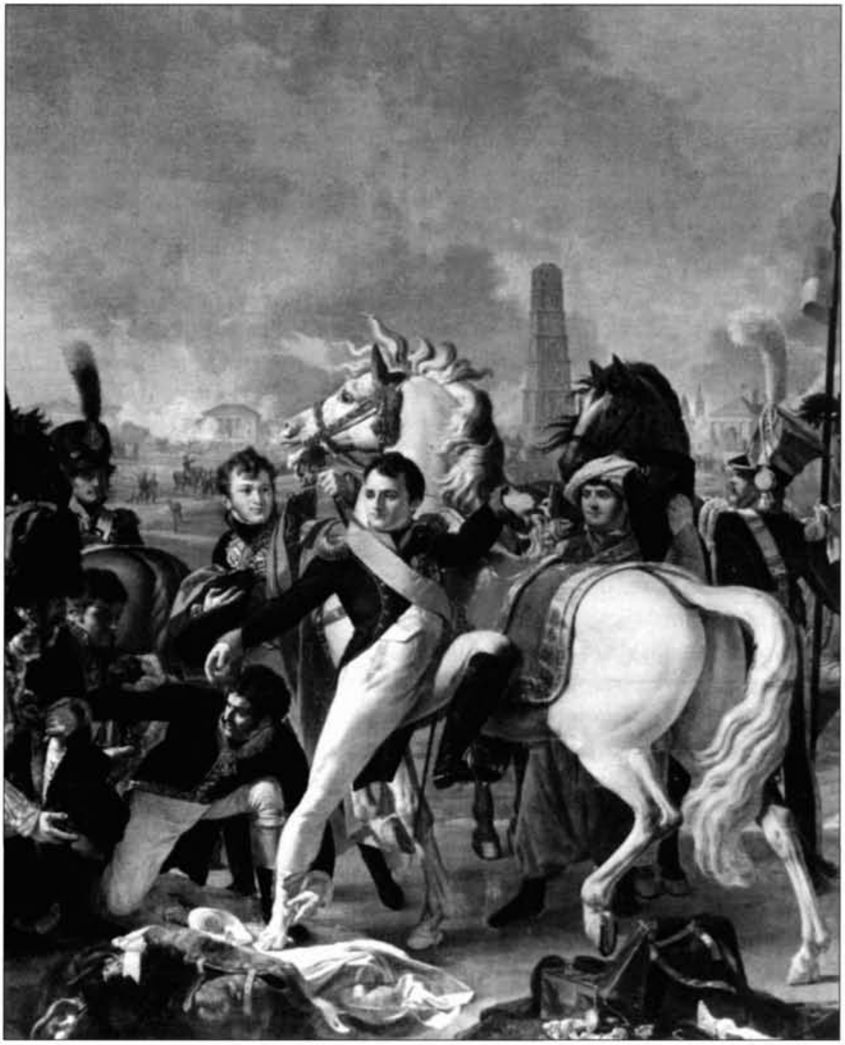
During the final dreadful months of the Russian campaign the officers of the general staff and of both households – though better protected and supplied than the rest of the Grande Armée – nevertheless suffered casualties. Numbers of the Emperor's staff officers, grooms and servants never returned, the victims of frostbite, enemy action or capture.

When the Emperor returned to Paris to rebuild his army a small general staff and part of his households stayed with Prince Eugène in Germany, where Napoleon's stepson commanded the remnant seeking to hold back the Russian advance.

Reductions of 1813

By a decree of 2 February 1813, Napoleon – who now suffered a chronic lack of cavalry as a result of the Russian disaster – sought to regulate the number of horses for each rank in the army. He wished his marshals and other senior officers to set an example of greater frugality than in 1812, when they had gone to war in style with carriages, masses of horses, servants in their personal liveries, cooks and mobile kitchens. The Emperor now decreed for his immediate suite that a Grand Officer of the Crown – e.g. Duroc or Caulaincourt – might have 12 saddle horses, a carriage, four draught horses, and six spare led horses. An officer of one of his households was permitted six saddle horses and three led spares; an ADC to the Emperor might have 12 saddle horses, a carriage, four draught horses and six spares, but an orderly officer only ten saddle horses and three spares; a secretary of Napoleon's private Cabinet had three saddle horses and three spares; and a *fourrier* of the palace the same.

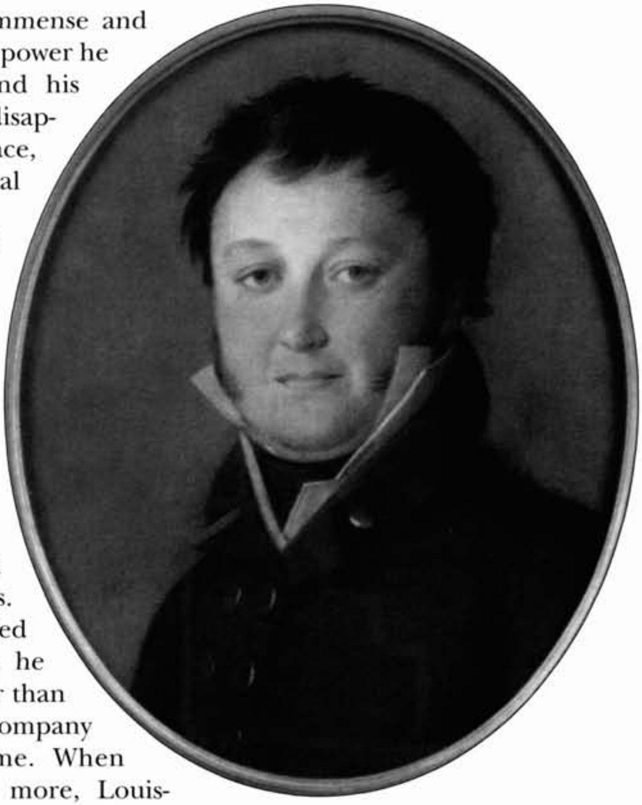
On 14 April 1813, Berthier set up the general headquarters at Mainz, where Gen Guilleminot had already established an advance echelon. The faithful members of his personal Cabinet – Salamon, Le Duc, Dufresne and Denniée *fils* – were with the Major-General, as ever, and most of the old familiar faces were still to be seen. General Sanson, however, had now been replaced as head of the topographical bureau by Col Bonne; and Jomini had returned to Marshal Ney's staff – he would soon flee to Russian service, to advise the Allied commanders on how to defeat Napoleon. As mentioned, other members of the staff and imperial households were still serving with the Viceroy Eugène; but they would soon be reunited at Dresden, where on 10 August 1813



Napoleon wounded at Ratisbonne, 23 April 1809 – after C.P.Gautherot. The Emperor's ankle wound was tended by his personal surgeon Alexandre Yvan, who always rode close behind him on campaign. Roustam, Napoleon's Mameluke, is seen in oriental uniform between the two horses; his elaborate outfits sometimes cost more than a craftsman's wages for a year. (Author's collection)

Napoleon, for the last time, would hold an immense and spectacular birthday parade. For this last show of power he was accompanied by both his households and his general staff, though some trusted faces had disappeared: both Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace, and the commander of the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, Marshal Bessières, had been killed.

Although he manoeuvred his outnumbered armies with perhaps a greater show of genius than ever before, Napoleon was finally deserted by fortune in 1814. He succumbed to the overwhelming numbers of the Allied forces, suffering not only misfortunes but also the treacheries of self-seeking marshals, generals and ministers. As the Empire drew to its close, the conscientious Berthier, together with Baron Dufresne, spent several hours compiling with meticulous care the citations of those who had been recommended for honours and awards. During the First Restoration, with Napoleon exiled to Elba, Berthier served the King of France; he retained his rank – as a Marshal of France rather than the Empire – and also became the captain of a company of the Gardes du Corps that bore his name. When Napoleon escaped and raised his flag once more, Louis-Alexandre Berthier would not turn his coat yet again; he remained faithful to his oath to King Louis, following him into exile before retiring to his father-in-law's country of Bavaria. Napoleon was shocked by his refusal to join the adventure of the Hundred Days, and was reportedly deeply saddened when he heard that, on 1 June 1815 at Bamberg, Berthier had been killed by a fall from a high window.



Constant Wairy (1778–1845), better known simply as 'Constant'. Born in Peruwels, Belgium, he entered the service of Napoleon's stepson Eugène de Beauharnais before becoming valet to the future Empress Josephine. Just before Bonaparte left for Marengo, Constant entered his service as valet, and stayed with him until the first abdication in 1814. His memoirs were published in six volumes between 1830 and 1831; their tone reflects the self-important expression captured by this portrait. (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)

The Hundred Days

In March 1815 the sovereign of the small Mediterranean island of Elba returned to France, and recaptured his throne without firing a shot. He quickly assembled the 124,000-strong Army of the North; and at 11pm on the evening of 10 June a *landau,* two other coaches and a supply wagon left the palace to join the army in the field.

In the first carriage travelled Count de Fouler as *écuyer commandant,* Guy as *quartier-maître d'écuries,* one craftsman and a servant; the second contained the equerry Canisy, the page Gudin (son of Gen Gudin who had been killed in Russia) and a servant, plus a fourth, unidentified passenger. The other two vehicles contained members of the Civil Household, including *Maréchal des logis du Palais* Guerely and *Adjoint du Palais* Baillon, followed by two messengers (Gilet and Megry). At 4am on the 11th another four carriages left the palace. Master of the Wardrobe Count de Turenne shared his coach with an officer of the Grand Marshal's staff; with them we find the Emperor's *Maître d'hôtel* Colin, and 14 valets and members of the kitchen staff plus two couriers (Devieux and Jacques).

These vehicles were immediately followed by three others including the Emperor's *berline-dormeuse* or mobile office-cum-bedroom, in which rode Napoleon. The Emperor was accompanied by the Grand Marshal, Gen Bertrand; and on the box in front sat the Mameluke Ali and a trooper of the Mounted Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard, who was armed with two pistols and his sabre. The other carriages contained the members of Napoleon's immediate suite, such as his ADCs Counts Drouot, Flahaut, Corbineau and de Labédoyère, his senior *valet à pied* Marchand, his surgeon Lameau, and Santigny, the *garde du portefeuille* of the Emperor's Cabinet. At the left door of the Emperor's coach rode a page Gudin; at the right hand side rode the duty equerry Baron de Mesgrigny, and with them rode two *piqueurs* (Chauvin and Amodru) plus two orderly officers. The last to leave Paris were three carriages carrying further valets, another *maître d'hôtel*, a secretary of the Grand Marshal, the Emperor's secretary Fain, the director of the topographical bureau Gen Bernard, and *garde du portefeuille* Dejean. In all, 88 members of the Emperor's Cabinet and both households were driving towards Maubeuge (taking with them eight different folding metal campaign beds and one tent).

A few days later, on the evening of 18 June 1815, most of the vehicles together with their contents were captured by the pursuing Prussians, and Baron de Mesgrigny was accompanying the defeated Napoleon back to Paris. It was, at last, the end of an era.

Louis Joseph Narcisse Marchand (1791–1876), who entered the Civil Household in 1811 as a *garcon d'appartement*, and was chosen by Grand Marshal Bertrand to replace Constant as the Emperor's personal valet after the first abdication. He accompanied Napoleon to Elba; during the Hundred Days; and, after the second abdication, into final exile on St Helena, where he served him until Napoleon's death. Together with Gens Bertrand and Montholon he supervised the execution of the ex-Emperor's will. After returning to France he wrote his memoirs, published in the 1850s. (Collection du Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France)

Headquarters units

From the creation of the Imperial Headquarters it was protected by several groups of French or foreign troops. One of these was the 'Compagnie d'élite du grand quartier général', which had its origins in the following headquarters detachments, whose retitlings and amalgamations were complex:

Guides Interprètes de l'Armée d'Angleterre

A decree of 5 October 1803 created a company of Guide Interpreters for the Army of England. It was composed of one captain (Faget), two lieutenants, two sub-lieutenants, one sergeant-major, two sergeants, one quartermaster-corporal, eight corporals, 96 guides and two drummers. They were recruited in Paris and the Channel ports; they had to be at least 35 years old, fluent in English and to have lived in England.

With the seat of war moving towards the east, the company was sent to Warsaw, where it was increased to 120 men. On 30 June 1807, at Tilsit, they became the 'Guides du Prince de Neuchâtel', at the disposal of Berthier; and later, simply the 'Compagnie d'élite du grand quartier général'.

Guides Interprètes de l'Armée d'Allemagne

Two squadrons of Guide Interpreters of the Army of Germany were organized by decree of 9 October 1805, tasked with carrying orders to the different staffs and to be sent as orderly officers to the generals. Each squadron was composed of two companies of 100 guides with 19 officers, NCOs, corporals and trumpeters. They were exclusively recruited in both departments of Alsace, and had to speak fluent German. Both squadrons were dismissed after a few months by Gen Bourcier. They were reformed in 1806, passing into the 'Compagnie d'élite du grand quartier général'.

Compagnie d'élite du grand quartier général

By a decree of 30 June 1807 the Guide Interpreters of the Armies of England and Germany were united into a single unit: the 'Guides de Son Altesse Sérénissime le Prince de Neuchâtel' (or 'Guides de Berthier'). The newly created company was commanded by Capt Faget, with two lieutenants and 110 NCOs and guides. They accompanied the Imperial Headquarters wherever it travelled, and saw action in Spain, where they are mentioned as the 'Compagnie d'élite du grand quartier général de l'Armée d'Espagne'. In 1809 they followed the staff towards Austria; but on 20 November, Napoleon ordered the company sent from Strasbourg to Bayonne, at a moment when he intended to personally settle the war in Spain once and for all. Although he changed his mind, the company stayed in Spain for two years, before being sent east for the Russian campaign.

In March 1812 the company consisted of Capt Faget, Lts Borde and Machet, S/Lts Trémault, Treillard and Guerre, Asst Surg Dufouze, two sergeant-majors, five sergeants, a quartermaster-corporal, seven corporals, two trumpeters, three farriers, 65 guides plus two serving with the wagon; 14 officers' horses, 58 troopers' horses and four draught horses to pull the company wagon. Captain Faget was killed in Russia, and his company decimated. It was reformed under the command of Capt Trémault, and at Versailles on 1 March 1814 it numbered 42 officers and men ready for service, plus 33 more who were waiting for remounts. The company was practically destroyed once again at the battle of Fère-Champenoise on 25 March 1814, losing all its records and funds. Reduced to 31 men, it was absorbed into the 2nd Dragoons on 4 June 1814, and ceased to exist.

Gendarmerie du grand quartier général

Commanded by Col Lauer – who was promoted general of brigade in February 1807 – this security force comprised, in May 1807: one squadron leader, one captain, four lieutenants, one quartermaster, and 126 NCOs and gendarmes, of whom 50 were serving with the headquarters and 76 detached to other posts. About ten gendarmes were serving with the Major-General, five with the Intendant General, 11 escorting the Treasury and five with the *petit quartier général*.

Other units which served with the headquarters at various dates were the Bataillon de Neuchâtel, a unit (with an integral artillery element) raised in Marshal Berthier's Swiss principality; the 2nd Baden Line Infantry; the Saxon Light Horse Regiment 'Prince Albert'; the French 28th Mounted Chasseurs; the 5th Polish Mounted Chasseurs; the Portuguese Mounted Chasseurs; a Hessian light infantry battalion, and a Polish élite battalion.

ARMY GENERAL HEADQUARTERS NOMINAL ROLL, 1 August 1812

His Majesty the Emperor and King, commanding in person, at the *Quartier Impérial* of Vitebsk

His Excellency the Prince of Wagram and Neuchâtel, Vice-Constable of the Empire, Colonel-General of Swiss Troops, Major-General despatching the orders of His Majesty (Marshal Berthier)

ADCs to the Major-General: Baron Lejeune, Colonel of Engineers; Baron Flahaut, Colonel; Baron Pernet, Chef d'escadron; Baron Noailles, Captain; Baron Lecouteulx, Captain; Baron Montesquiou (Anatole), Captain; Baron de Fesenzac, *Chef d'escadron*; d'Astorg, *Chef de...* ; Bongars, *Chef de ...*

Employed near the Major-General: Count Girardin, General of Brigade; Baron Déniée, *Inspecteur aux revues*; Le Duc, *Commissaire ordonnateur*, private secretary to Berthier; Salamon, Assistant Captain in charge of troop movements; Guillabert, *Commissaire des guerres*; Ravenel, *Commissaire des guerres*; Sion, geographical engineer

Wagonmaster to the Major-General, Captain Philippe Rieggert

General Staff:

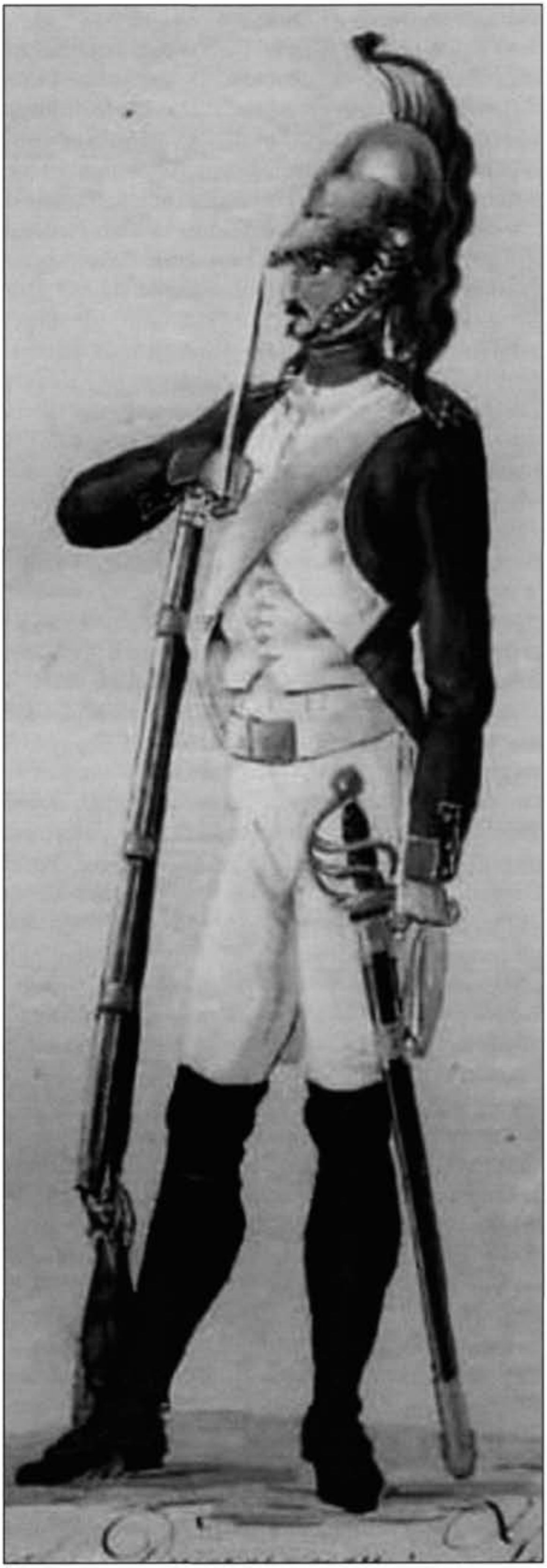
Generals of Division: Count Sanson, in charge of topographical and historical bureaux; de Caulaincourt, commanding the General Headquarters

Generals of Brigade: Count Monthion, chief of staff to the Major-General; Baron Guilleminot, commanding the *petit quartier général*; Baron Jomini, in charge of the historical office, and Governor of Vilna

Adjutants-commandants: Simonin, Falkowski, Michal Labretonnière, the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Pinthon, Thery, Aubert, Defernig, Meinadier, Hulot, Dupuy, Lorinet

Colonel: Gourry

Chefs de bataillon & d'escadron: Puthon (commissioned *adjutant-commandant*), Galbois (wounded), Bedos, Stoffel, Fontenilles, Malezewski, St Remi, Terrier, St Simon, Laczinski, Vermaesen, Coupé St Donat, Blackwel, Allouis, Marquessac, Latte, Dufouard, Dubourg, Gauthier, Pariset, Zadera, Laroche



OPPOSITE **Guide of the General Staff, from the Freyberg MS – a superb piece of contemporary evidence for the uniforms of the *Compagnie d'élite*. The brass helmet is *à la Minerve*; the green coat is faced red with white piping at collar and cuffs, and white with red piping at the lapels; the cuff flaps are green piped with white; the small-clothes and leather are white, the gaiters black. He carries a short Dragoon musket and a brass-furnished sword. It is interesting to note the moustaches, and the so-called *mouche* ('fly') on the chin – this patch of hair, commonly associated with later periods, was in fact very fashionable towards the end of the Empire, even within the Imperial Guard. (Anne S.K.Brown Collection, Providence, USA)**

Captains: Meckenem, Levasseur, de Mondreville, Morot, de Soucy, Delaplace, Bellement, Deschamps, Guinet, Meresse, Guillot de la Poterie, Moutte, Garnier, Blouin, Descharmes, Ledoux, de Courbon, de la Moussaye, Brunier, Freval, Mathey, Bonamy Villemereuil, Bellanger, Prie, Deyraguer, Ste Croix, Theubet, Roucy
Geographical engineers: Commanded by Gen Sanson
Chef de bataillon: Boclet
1st Class Captains: Delahaye, Bagetti *père*, Desnoyers
2nd Class Captains: Pierre Pont, Regnault, Simondi, Chandellier
Lieutenants: Berlier, Aymard
Artists: Beuvelot, Bernard, Soinard, Guillard

Gendarmerie Impériale: Commanded by General of Brigade Lauer
Chef d'escadron Weber, commanding the Force Publique (police force)
Lieutenant Coutant, *vaguemestre* (wagonmaster) of the Headquarters

Generals and senior officers serving *à la suite:*
Generals of Division: Count Milhaud (on his way from France), Count Rapp, Count Baraguey d'Hilliers (on his way)
Generals of Brigade: Lanchantin, Heylingers, Franceschy, Bertrand, Barthier St Hilaire, Lambert, Normand, Godard, Fabre, Evers, Margaron
Adjutants-commandants: Amira, Thomasset

General officers and other officers with commands in occupied territory:
Generals of Division: Count Hogendorp, Governor of Lithuania (at Vilna); Count Charpentier (at Vitebsk); Count Dutaillis (at Warsaw); Baron Durutte (at Berlin); Gomes Freyre (at Ghlouboukoé); Castella (at Königsberg); Baillet de la Tour (at Elbing)
Generals of Brigade: Baron Corsin (at the port of Pilau); Baron Jomini (at Vilna); Plausonne (at Plok); Ferrière (at Biolptok); Tarayre (at Kovno); Voyerinski (at Thorn); Wedel (at Vilkoviski); Brun (at Grodno); Bronikowski (at Minsk)
Adjutants-commandants: Barrin (at Erfurt); Rippert (at Posen); Kossakoski (at Potolsk)
Majors: Cothias (*commandant d'armes* at Ghlouboukoé)

Administration of Imperial Headquarters:
Ordonnateur en chef: Joinville
Sous-inspecteur aux revues: Denniée *fils* (working with the Major-General as *Inspecteur aux revues*)
Chargé de l'habillement: Vilain, Chevalier de St Hilaire
Service de santé: Chardel, physician; Saulnier, surgeon; Demarbaix, surgeon; Ruchet, pharmacist
Directeurs principaux des services: Duloir (bread), Accoyer (meat), Thevenard (forage); (hospitals – post vacant)

General Administration of the Army:
Intendant General: Count Dumas, Councillor of State
Commissaires ordonnateurs: Chambon, *'chargé spécialement de la direction*

du service territorial'; le Borgne de Boigne, Dervillé, Dumast, Robinet, Barthomeuf, Jacqueminot, Sartelon, Blin Mutrel, Trousset
Commissaires des guerres de 1e classe: Genet, Daudy, Alisse, Renoud, Rolland, Dorigny
Commissaires des guerres de 2e classe: Lajard, d'Hervey, Tardieu, Broquerre, Genissieu, Faisolle de Villeblanche, Bonneville, Pinet, Guillon, Dubois, Bischoff, Dusargues, Tranchant
Adjoints aux commissaires des guerres: Lair, Gouget des Landes, Mortier, Quernest, Deblair, Duverger, Bellot, Dehau, de Montmort, Pichot *jeune*, Toubin

Inspection générale des revues de l'Armée:
Inspecteur en chef aux revues: Viennot-Vaublanc
Sous-inspecteur: Drolenvaux
Inspecteur aux revues of the cavalry reserve: Lamer

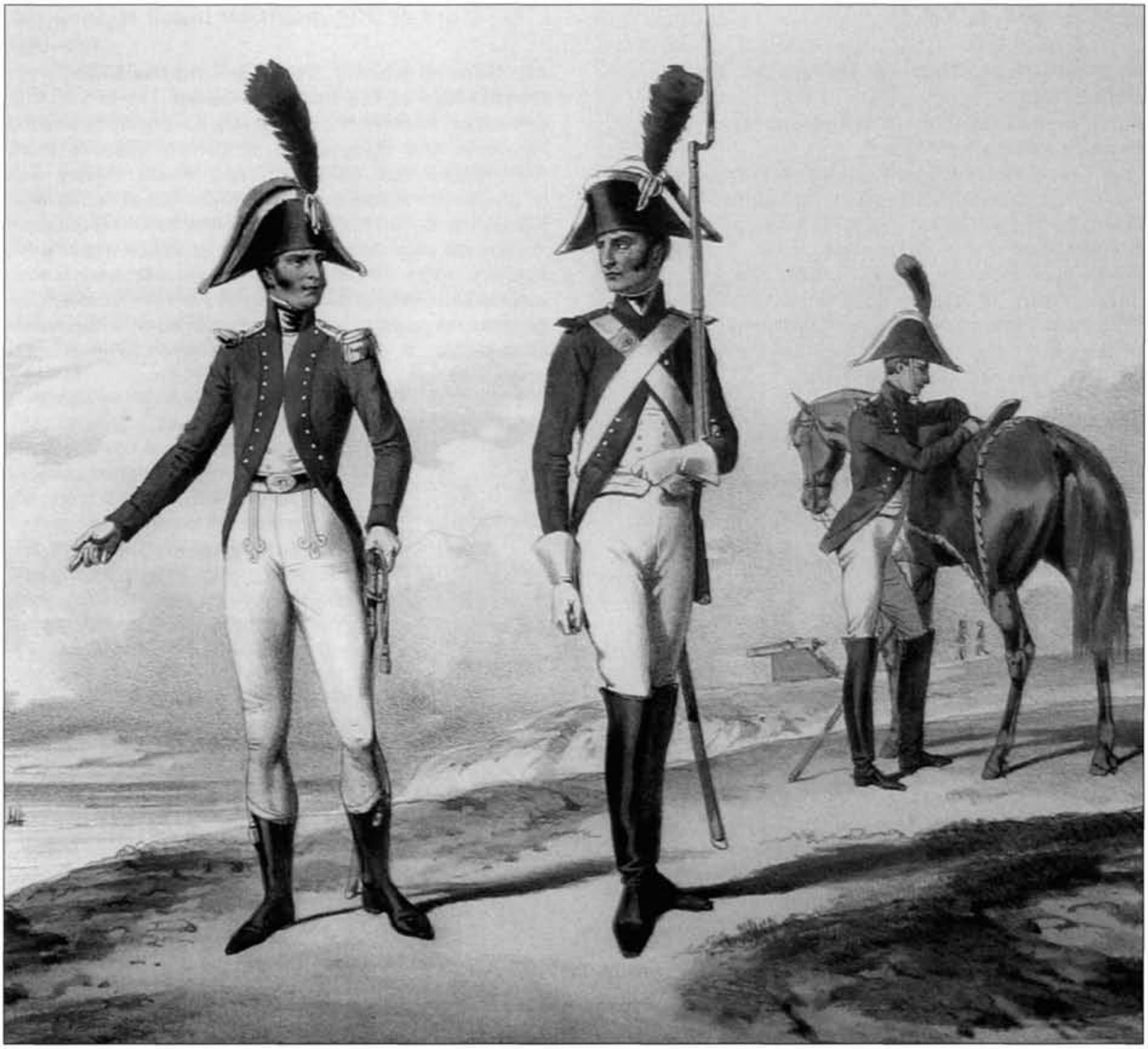
Administrative Services:
Service de santé: Desgenettes, *medicin en chef*, plus three physicians; Larrey, *chirurgien en chef*, plus four surgeons, four assistants, 16 sub-assistants; Laubert, chief pharmacist, plus three pharmacists, three assistants, six sub-assistants; Bourdin and Courtin, *régisseurs généraux* of hospitals, plus one general storekeeper, one cashier, two bookkeepers, 16 clerks, two workmen
Subsistence: Bagieu and Teubell, *régisseurs généraux* (bread), plus three directors, nine inspectors & controllers, two storekeepers, 15 assistants & clerks, 66 workmen; Valette, *régisseur* (meat), plus two directors, six inspectors & controllers, 12 *préposés*, 18 workmen; Aumont, *régisseur* (forage), plus two directors, six inspectors & controllers, three *préposés*, eight assistants, 21 workmen
Équipages auxiliaires: (director's post vacant), one inspector and eight *préposés*
Clothing, equipment & encampment: (director's post vacant), 12 *préposés*, six workmen
Postal service: (post vacant)
Paymaster: (post vacant)
Print shop: Levrault, director

Troops at Imperial Headquarters:
Bataillon de Neuchâtel: *Chef de bataillon* de Gorgier – 19 officers, 609 men (at Posen on 13 August); total, 628
Artillery battalion: Renaud – three officers, 76 men; 74 horses, of which 70 draught (at Posen on 13 August); detached – 45 men joining up, 34 at Mainz on 13 August; total, 786 men, 74 horses
Guides l'état-major général: Eight officers, 122 men, 142 horses; total, 130 men, 142 horses
Gendarmerie Impériale: 15 officers, 200 men, 236 horses; total, 215 men, 236 horses

Total of troops at Imperial Headquarters:
45 officers, 1,086 men, 452 horses

General Staff: 249 staff officers

OPPOSITE ***Guides Interprètes.*** **In this version they are illustrated wearing green coats faced red with white small-clothes, black hats trimmed silver/white, and red plumes. The officer (left) has silver 'metal' including subaltern's epaulettes, hussar boots, white trefoil knots embroidered on his thighs, a black belt and gold-furnished sword. The enlisted man has green 'duck's-foot' shoulder straps with red piping and *brides*, white belts with a brass plate, gauntlets, and both musket and sword. The shabraque at right is green with gold dagged edging. (Author's collection)**



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THE PLATES

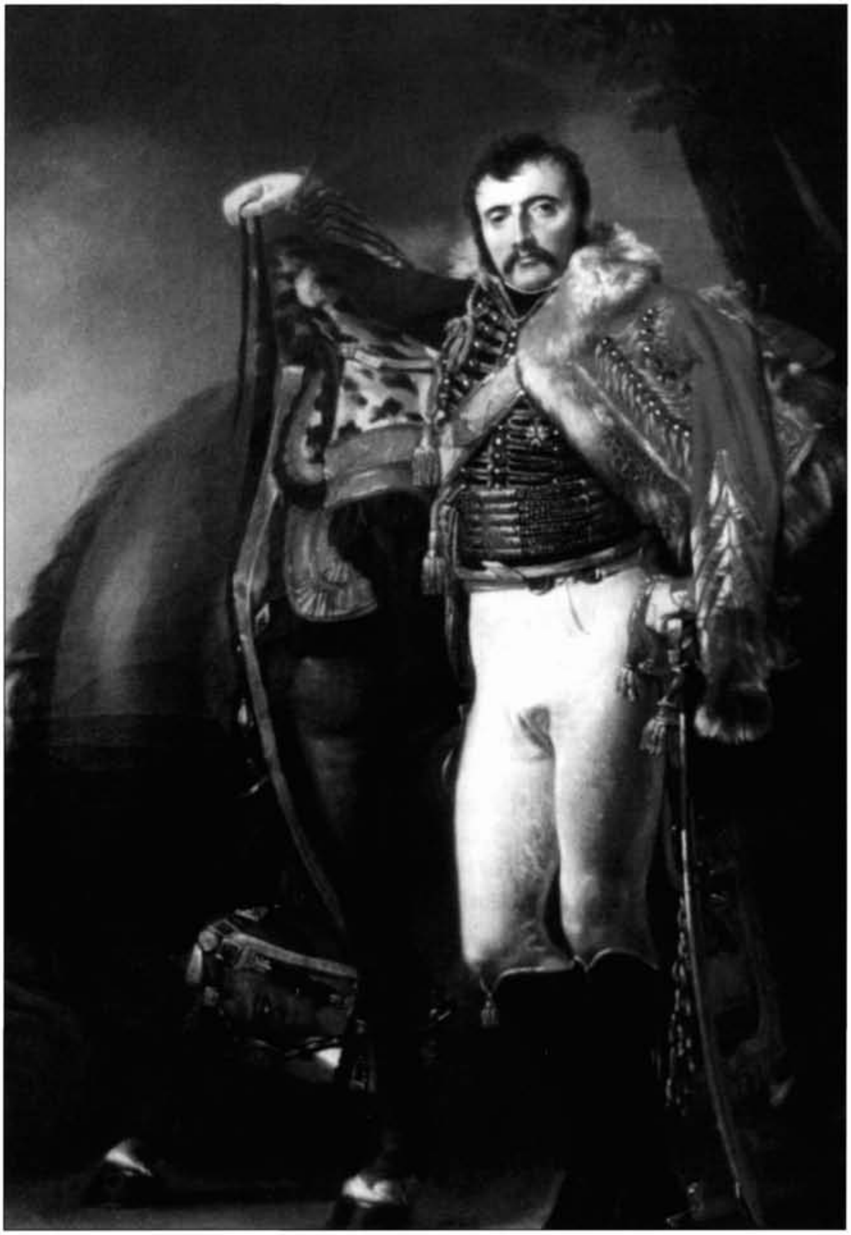
A: PERSONALITIES AT IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS

A1: Marshal Berthier, Major-General of the Grande Armée, c1805–06

Napoleon's chief of the general staff was of high birth, and had served as a staff officer under Rochambeau in America during the War of Independence. His outward style remained old-fashioned, and in the service of the Empire he was always surrounded by numerous aides and servants, with much display of sumptuous, non-regulation dress and equipment. Here we portray him in a non-regulation general officer's uniform with exposed lapels, as shown in Gros's painting of the battle of Austerlitz.

A2: General Savary, commanding the Elite Gendarmes of the Imperial Guard

General of Division Anne Savary was completely devoted to Napoleon and enjoyed the Emperor's absolute trust. Although he was an experienced soldier Savary was employed on diplomatic and political duties rather than military service; an ADC to the Emperor, he was Napoleon's intelligence chief and later Minister of Police, obeying his master's orders without scruple. This reconstruction is from various sources; it shows Savary in his special uniform as general commanding the regiment charged with Napoleon's close protection. Black or bay horses were traditional in this prestigious unit.



General Count C.E.Guyot (1768–1837), who became 'Second Colonel' of the Mounted Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard on 5 June 1809, and is portrayed in the splendid uniform of that regiment with five gold chevrons of rank on his sleeves. He was promoted general of brigade two months later, rising to general of division on 16 December 1811. (It was impossible to become a full colonel of the Mounted Chasseurs, since the commanding colonel was the Emperor himself.) General Guyot was the commanding officer of Napoleon's escorts and responsible for his security in the field; as such, he was always in the Emperor's presence. On 20 November 1813, Guyot became the commander of the Mounted Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard. At Waterloo he led the heavy cavalry of the Guard – the Dragoons and Mounted Grenadiers; his action in following the Cuirassiers in their charges would remain a controversial decision. (Private collection, France)

A3: General Count Bertrand, ADC to the Emperor

An officer and general of engineers, Henri-Gatien Bertrand – later to succeed Duroc as Grand Marshal of the Palace – was appointed ADC to the Emperor in 1804. Here he wears regulation general officer's uniform distinguished by his ADC's aiguillettes and by white feather edging to his hat – otherwise the mark of a general commanding an army. Bertrand's loyalty would take him into exile on St Helena until Napoleon's death.

B: THE SERVICE OF THE GRAND MARSHAL OF THE PALACE

B1: General Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace

Responsible for all arrangements for the Emperor's comfort and service, Gen Michel Duroc was always close by Napoleon's side; apart from the domestic services he commanded the Imperial Guard detachments serving as imperial escorts and guards. This reconstruction shows Gen Duroc in the special uniform of his appointment, lavishly embroidered with the silver palm-leaf pattern of the Civil Household; this was probably worn mainly when at the Tuileries Palace in Paris. At other times, and when on campaign, he would wear the regulation general officer's uniform.

B2: Roustam, Mameluke of the Emperor

One of the most famous – thought not most interesting – figures of the Napoleonic legend, Roustam was, with the valet Constant, the Emperor's closest body servant. When Napoleon rode out on campaign Roustam was to stay close at hand at all times; he carried two of the Emperor's famous grey greatcoats, and a small flask of brandy. Many period paintings and engravings show him wearing a variety of exotic costumes in the oriental style; this example is from a painting by Gros now in the Army Museum in Paris.

B3: Quartermaster of the Palace

Although performing civilian duties, the *fourriers du palais* were chosen from among the Elite Gendarmerie, and retained their military rank. Their particular duties included, among others, seeing to the cleaning and furnishing of Napoleon's quarters, preparing and cleaning his pistols and the harness and saddlery of his horses. One is shown here on horseback in service uniform, travelling the roads of Europe in his master's entourage.

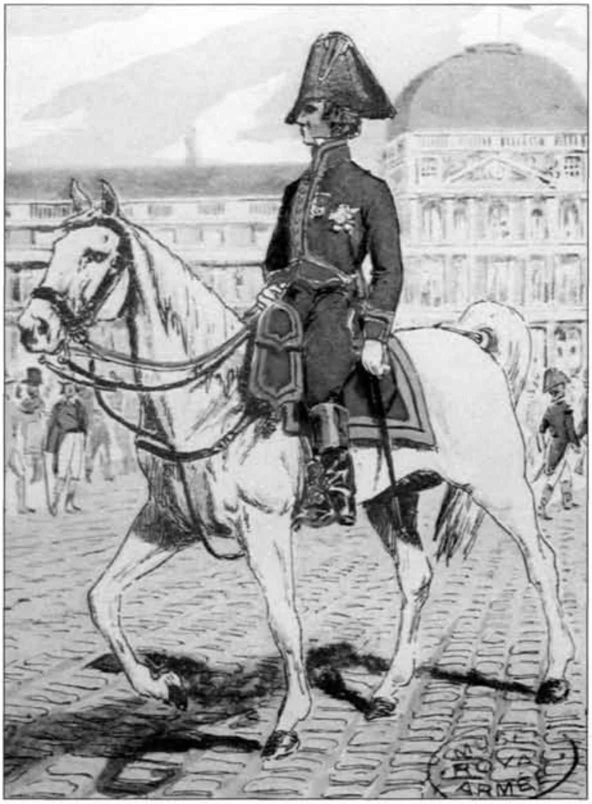
B4: Constant, First Valet

Constant, whose career is summarized in an accompanying portrait caption, is illustrated in his everyday dress on campaign.

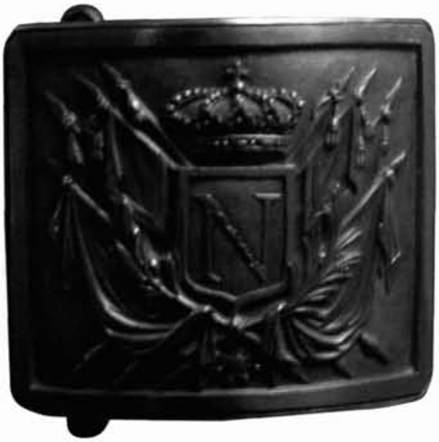
C: THE SERVICE OF THE GRAND EQUERRY

C1: General de Caulaincourt, Grand Equerry

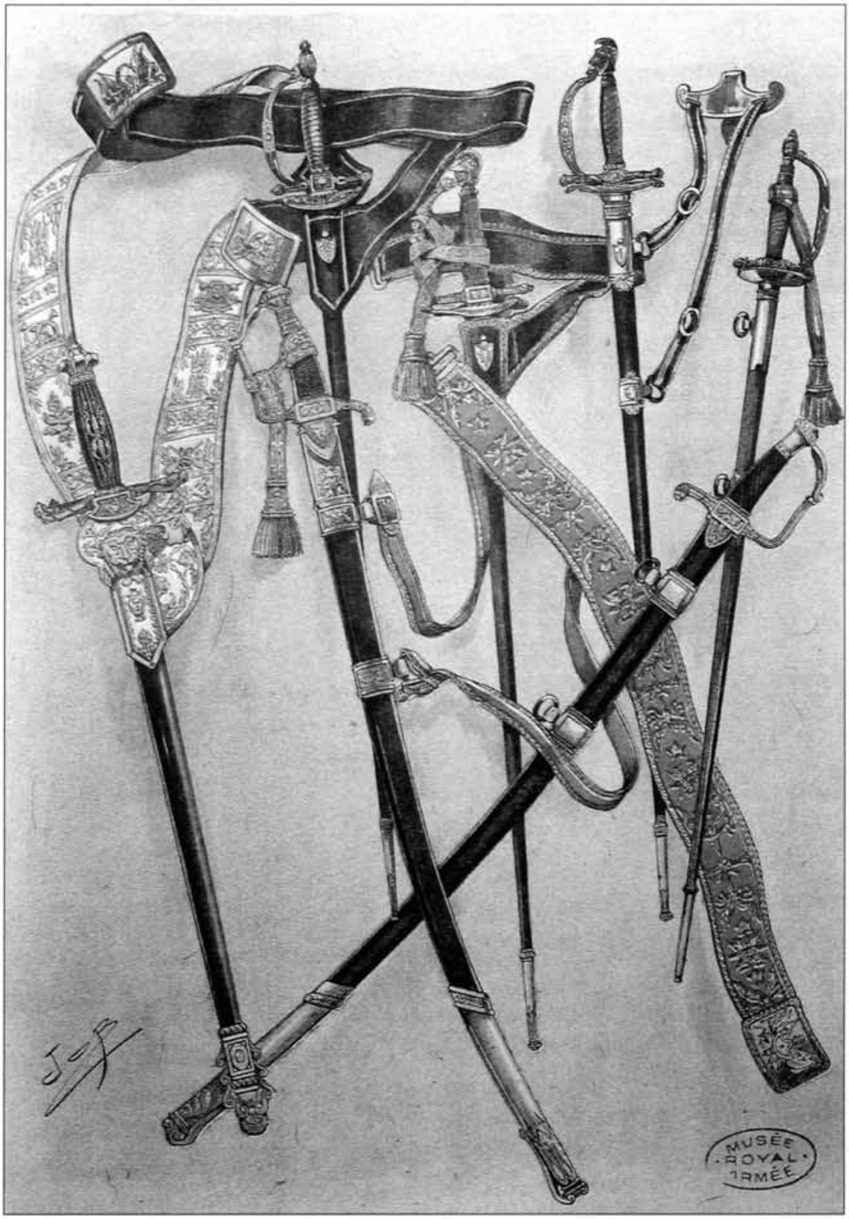
As Grand Equerry, *Général de division* Armand de Caulaincourt was in charge of all matters to do with the Emperor's horses, coaches, grooms, outriders, postilions and coachmen when Napoleon was in residence, and also the vehicles, escorts, lodgings, etc. for the household when travelling – a considerable responsibility.



Surgeon Inspector General, of whom there were six in the French Army at the end of 1803: Coste, Desgenettes, Heurteloup, Larrey, Parmentier and Percy. The *Service de Santé* came under the Ministry of War Administration and the department of the Commissioners of War. The uniform is *'bleu barbeau'* with – for a surgeon – crimson collar, cuffs and waistcoat, all embroidered with two rows of gold lace, as were the pockets and front of the coat; the gold-laced red shabraque here is also comparable to that for a general officer. For pharmacists the facings were green, and for physicians black. The trousers in the same blue as the coat are for winter uniform, and were replaced with white in summer. Although Napoleon did pay some attention to the medical service, he never considered them as soldiers, and their uniform never received epaulettes. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)



Waist belt plate in use by the imperial household.
It is unusual to find a plate that bears the cipher 'N' in a shield, surrounded by trophies of flags. The Army Museum in Paris holds a similar shield, confirming that its origin lay in the Households of the Emperor. We might presume that they were worn by e.g. *fourriers du palais* when on campaign.
(Private collection)



Court sword, sabres and épées of the staff, by Job; these were naturally of the highest quality – Boutet of Versailles was one of the favoured makers. Black belts were worn on campaign (as were black neck stocks, while white were worn in peacetime). The *baudrier* of the court sword is shown as white and the broad sabre belt as scarlet, both richly embroidered with gold. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

C2: Orderly officer to the Emperor, post-1809

This *officier d'ordonnance,* wearing full dress uniform, is reconstructed from a number of the contemporary paintings in which they often appear in the background close to Napoleon.

Two were always to ride in front of the Emperor's coach when travelling or his horse when on parade. The 1809 decree specified a uniform of *'bleu barbeau'*, a mid-blue shade, but this was quickly replaced by the more impressive sky-blue.

C3: Chef d'escadron Gapard Gourgaud, 1813

The First Orderly Officer is shown on campaign, wearing the usual *petit uniforme* of the orderly officer differenced only by the epaulettes of his personal rank. Gourgaud's full dress is illustrated in Elite 83, *Napoleon's Commanders (2): c1809–15,* as Plate D2.

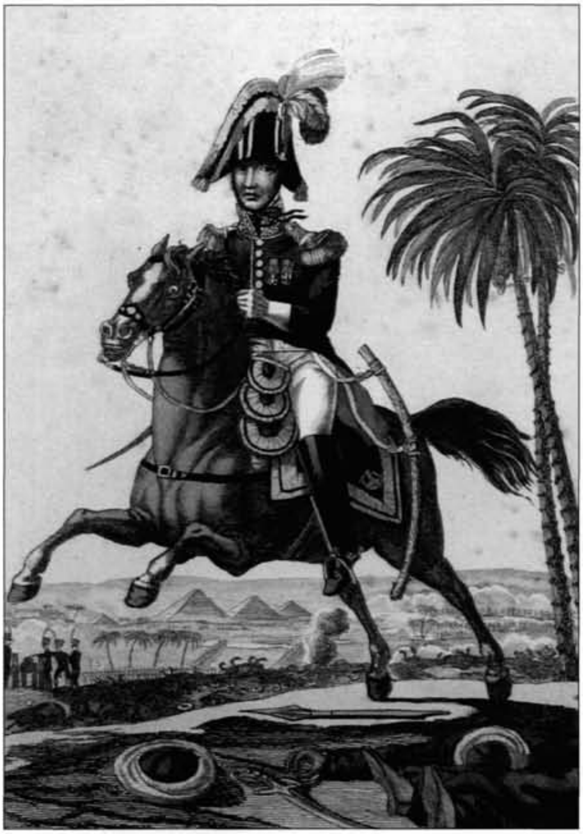
D: THE SERVICE OF THE GRAND EQUERRY

D1: *Piqueur*

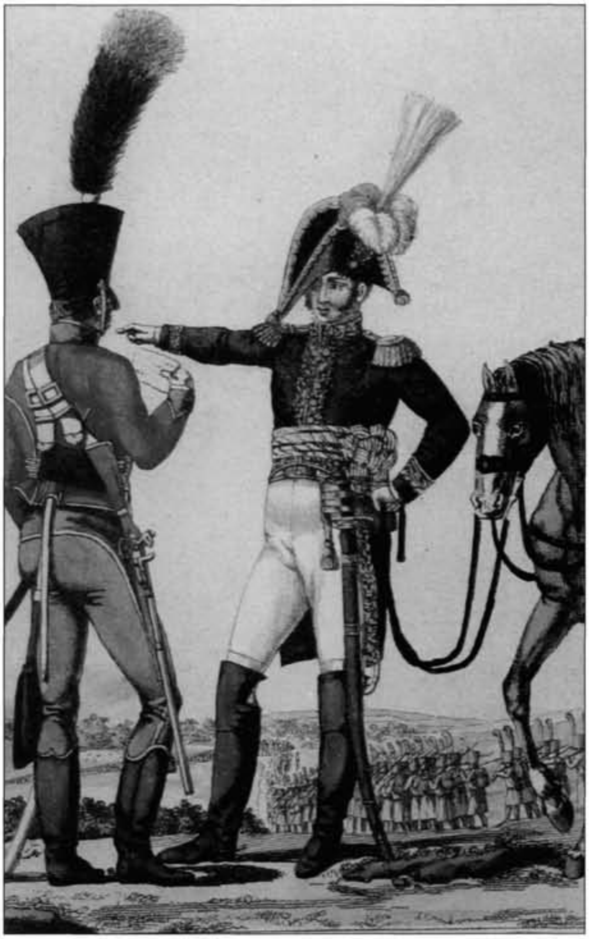
These 'outriders', a number of whom always accompanied the Emperor's immediate staff, were responsible for their horses, including the 'brigades' of remounts which had to be available close by at all times.

D2: Page

Aged between 14 and 19 years, the pages numbered 36 at any one time. Many were chosen from among wealthy families, but others were the sons of officers who had distinguished themselves; they also had to be intelligent and good-looking. Six pages always accompanied the Emperor when he travelled, in peacetime or on campaign; their duties were anything he needed or wished, from opening a door or holding a horse, to carrying messages, to riding behind him on the battlefield carrying his cased telescope.



We are reminded that the artists of engravings sometimes included fairly arbitrary choices of background by this print of a First Empire general, with the imperial crown on his shabraque, riding through the desert defeating Mamelukes – a campaign well predating the Empire. He wears the *petit uniforme*, with a plain buttoned front and less gold embroidery than the full dress. No sash of rank is visible, but the dark blue shabraque and pistol holsters indicate that he is a member of the general staff. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)



General of Brigade, wearing full dress uniform richly embroidered with gold, and the mixed blue and gold sash indicating his rank (gold and red for *général de division,* and gold or white and gold for marshal). In this print a little touch of Republican style survives in the tricolour plume shown on his hat. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)

D3: Dr Jouan, duty surgeon

A number of surgeons and physicians of various grades were always close to the Emperor on campaign, latterly under the direction of his surgeon Dr Alexandre Yvan. There were no strict regulations concerning their dress, though our illustration – depicting Dr Guillaume Jouan – shows a typical appearance. The coat is of the usual surgeons' *'bleu barbeau'* with red facings and gold embroidery; the shoulder cords are a special household distinction. When accompanying the Emperor in the field the duty surgeon was to carry a portemanteau of instruments and first aid supplies; Dr Jouan employed an unusual but useful sabretache for this purpose (and may not have been alone in this, according to the historian Rigo).

E: STAFF OFFICERS

E1: *Adjutant-commandant, Grand état-major général*

This shows the regulation mounted full dress of an adjutant-commandant; only the aiguillettes indicate his appointment to Army General Headquarters. The regulation red facings were often replaced with dark blue, and both blue and white trousers were worn according to season.

E2: *Adjutant-commandant, Garde Impériale*

This general or colonel, from a contemporary portrait, has a thoroughly non-regulation uniform but on which we can still see the regulation buttonhole loops of this staff appointment.

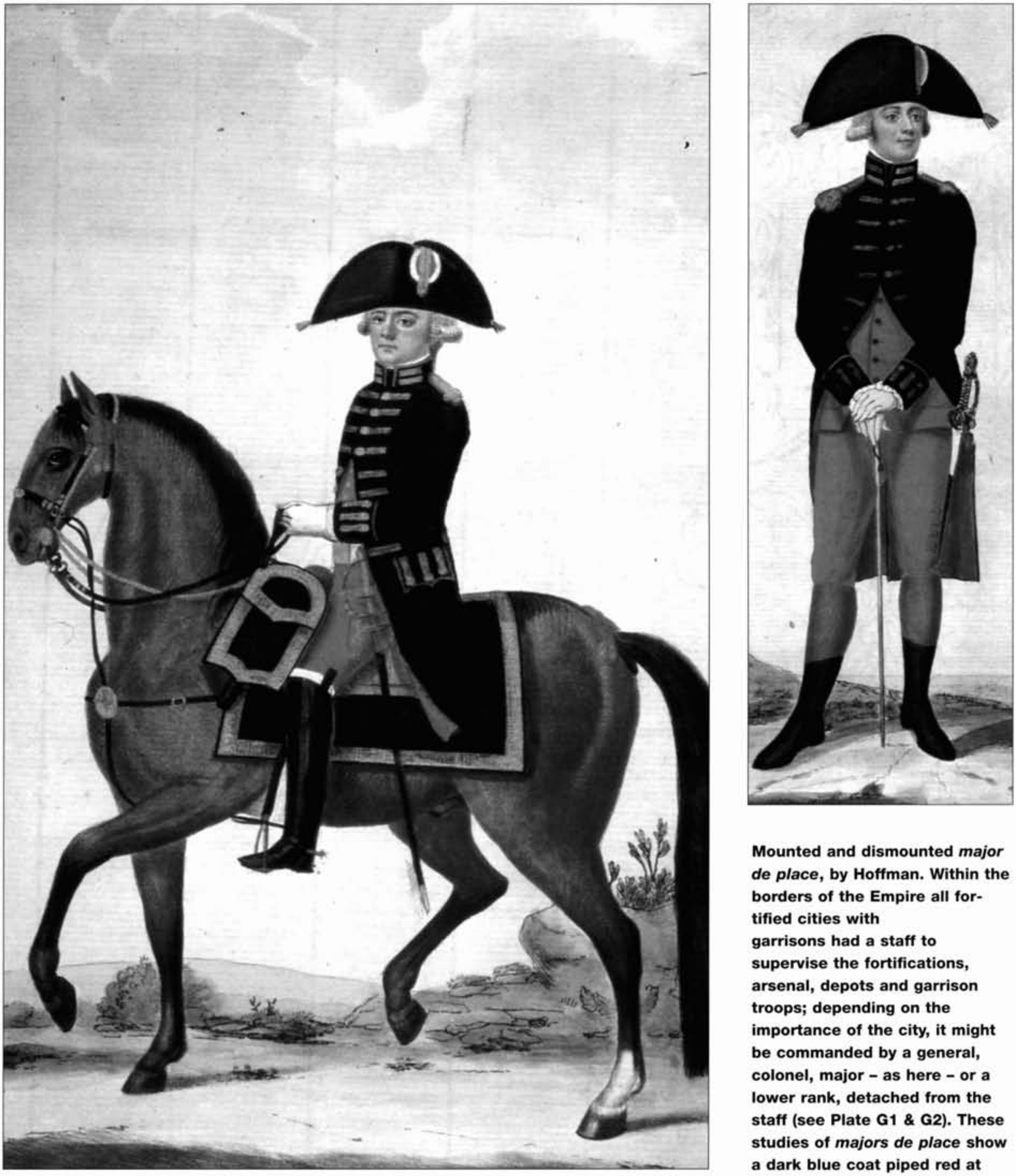
E3: *Adjoint*

The 'assistants to the general staff' were distinguished by embroidered double loops on the collar only, and by a simpler belt. When serving on foot both grades wore infantry officers' boots.

F: 'PETITS AIDES-DE-CAMP'

F1: Orderly officer to the Emperor, 1806–09

Before being taken into the Civil Household under the Grand Equerry in 1809, the Emperor's orderly officers were members of the Imperial Guard, and as such wore a green



Mounted and dismounted *major de place*, by Hoffman. Within the borders of the Empire all fortified cities with garrisons had a staff to supervise the fortifications, arsenal, depots and garrison troops; depending on the importance of the city, it might be commanded by a general, colonel, major – as here – or a lower rank, detached from the staff (see Plate G1 & G2). These studies of *majors de place* show a dark blue coat piped red at collar and cuffs, with gold embroidered loops on collar, breast, cuffs and pockets, worn with a scarlet waistcoat and trousers. The dismounted figure has 'jockey boots' with tan-coloured turn-overs. (Ann S.K.Brown Collection, Providence, USA)

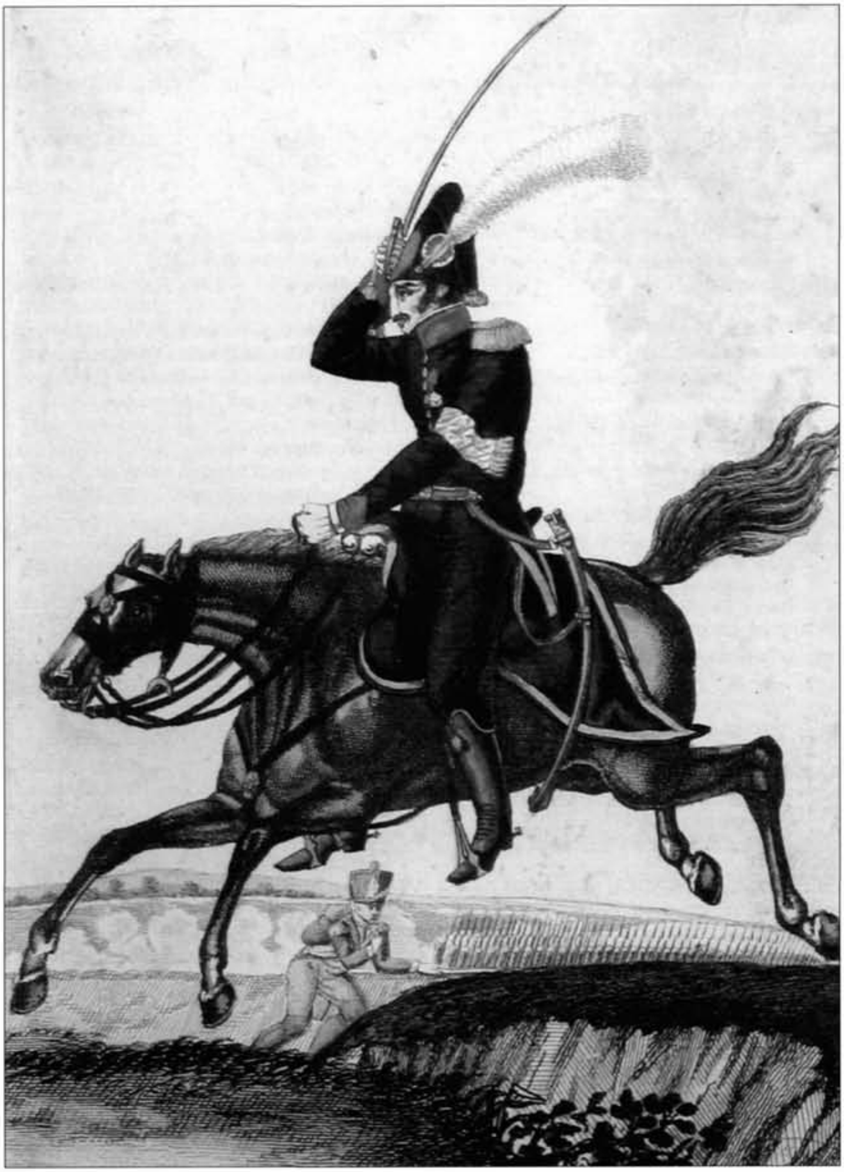
uniform with gold acanthus-leaf embroidery. This illustration is based on a portrait of Capt Chiapowsky.

F2: ADC to general commander-in-chief of an army, c1805–08

This figure shows the full dress uniform according to *An XII* regulations, the grade of his general indicated by the red/white plume and the gold-embroidered white brassard.

F3: Colonel Gauthier des Cottes, ADC to General Morand, post-1810

A typical example of the elaborate non-regulation uniforms affected by ADCs to general officers. Our source is a miniature portrait, so the overalls, sabretache and weapon are reconstructed.



Aide de camp. **Every general officer had the right to several ADCs, and exercised a good deal of freedom over their uniforms (see Plate F3). On more than one occasion the Emperor insisted that these officers should not wear exaggerated uniforms, ordering a single style – e.g. as in the dress regulations for *An XII* (Year 12 of the Revolutionary calendar – September 1803–04). These specified dark blue uniforms with sky-blue facings; this print shows scarlet collar and cuffs with sky-blue turnbacks – a whim of the colourist? The brassard on the left arm is white with a gold fringe, identifying an ADC to a general commander-in-chief of an army; ADCs to generals of division wore scarlet brassards fringed gold, to generals of brigade sky-blue with gold. The 'metal' on this uniform is gold, the sword belt red and the shabraque dark blue, both laced with gold. (Royal Army Museum, Brussels, Belgium)**

G: GARRISON & TECHNICAL OFFICERS

G1: *Governeur de place,* c1810

The grade of this senior general detached to serve as military governor of a fortified city is distinguished by the amount of gold embroidery on his coat, and the white sash with gold stars.

G2: *Capitaine-adjutant de place*

One of the many such administrative officers who served on the staffs of city and fortress garrisons.

G3: *Ingénieur-géographe,* c1810

Before 1812 the regulations governing the uniforms of the geographical engineer officers who staffed the 'topographical offices' at Imperial Headquarters are very unclear. These officers were not very numerous, and custom and habit played as great a part in their uniform as regulations. This officer in full dress displays the shoulder cords marking his appointment to the staff of Army General Headquarters.

H: ARMY ADMINISTRATION

H1: *Commissaire-ordonnateur en chef,* c1810

This is the regulation full dress for such functionaries with general's rank, by the regulations of 1803–15.

H2: *Commissaire des guerres*

The *petit uniforme* of this supply officer differs from full dress in the sky-blue collar and cuffs; the trousers are of a matching shade. In this reconstruction we copy the non-regulation pointed cuffs of an original coat now in the Musée des Hussards at Tarbes, France.

H3: *Sous-inspecteur des revues,* c1813–14

This figure of an official of the conscription service, after Martinet, wears 1803–15 regulation full dress but can be dated to c1813–14 by the design of his hat. His green sash and single row of embroidery at collar and cuffs identifies a sub-inspector; the grade of inspector wore red sashes and double embroidery.

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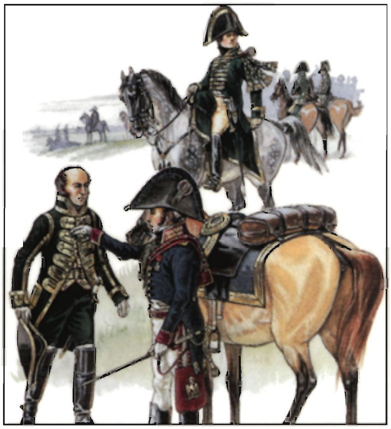

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